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TEACHER AND ADMINISTRATOR ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF BARRIERS AND STRATEGIES TOWARD THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN BOTSWANA.

BY

©

DAN-BUSH BHUSUMANE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF

MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF ADULT, CAREER AND TECHNOLOGY EDUCATION

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled: Teacher and administrator perceptions of attitudes, barriers, and strategies toward the advancement of women in educational administration in Botswana submitted by Dan-Bush Bhusumane in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

A. G. Konrad, Supervisor

P. A. Brook, Supervisory Committee

M. Assheton-Smith, Supervisory Committee

December 1993

DEDICATION

To: Nduku and Gezephi Bhusumane (my parents), Sandra James, all members of Southern Africa Cultural and Development Association (SACUDA).

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify and examine teacher and administrator attitudes and perceptions of barriers and strategies toward advancement of women in educational administration in Botswana. This nation-wide study of teacher and administrator attitudes toward the advancement of women in educational administration in Botswana used documentary analysis, a questionnaire distributed to a random sample of 840 and interviews with 30 respondents.

Descriptive statistics were used to describe the demographic characteristics of respondents and the perceptions of teachers and administrators. Chi-square analyses helped to establish the relationships among the demographic variables, while t-tests and F tests were used to examine differences in perceptions of barriers and attitudes by demographic variables. Factor analyses were used to identify the major components in the attitudes and perceptions of barriers toward the advancement of women. Qualitative data were examined by the use of content analysis.

Teachers and administrators showed positive attitudes toward women as administrators; believed that men and women possessed equal abilities as administrators yet most of them preferred men in administration. Although women were perceived to be more collaborative and supportive than men, their personality as administrators was viewed negatively in this study.

Organizational practices and activities, personal motivational behaviors, and societal factors were the primary influences on the participation of women in educational administration. This study showed that personal and professional variables such as age, gender, professional status, academic qualifications, years in teaching, and total education experience influenced teachers' and administrators' perceptions of attitudes, barriers, and strategies toward women in educational administration.

This study revealed that the low participation of women in educational administration is a very subtle and complex social problem that cannot be addressed

without examining the very nature and fabric of Botswana society. Researchers and educational practitioners need to analyze the attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors that make up the existing political, economic, social, educational, and cultural structures of Botswana society in order to understand those organizational, personal and societal factors that influence and maintain the low participation of women in educational administration.

Further research on this topic by including other professional groups would generate additional insights that could stimulate better dialogue on issues of equity and social justice in Botswana.

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I thank my parents for recognizing the value of education. Most important of all I appreciate their commitment to the success of their children. Their love and care and most significantly, their financial sacrifice by paying for my education have been a driving force and inspiration to me to continue with my studies. May the Grace of Mwali, our God be upon them forever.

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The preparation of this research report was made easier by the fact that I had unlimited access to Mbangiseni Nefhumbada's printer which I used quite often to print both the drafts and final copy of my thesis. His generosity is highly appreciated.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Indications of preferences for males in positions of authority (Terborg, Peters, Ilgen, & Smith, 1977; Powell, 1980; Shakeshaft, 1987; Fandt, Lewis, & Sutton, 1990) appear to continue today despite the increase in the number of women in leadership positions. Undoubtedly this preference for men results in considerably high under-representation of women at policy formulation and decision-making levels of most organizations, educational institutions, and other social and political structures. Occasionally, studies on gender inequality attributed the low participation of women in leadership to a number of perceptual and attitudinal variables supposedly militating against women as leaders.

While there is extensive reporting (Education Statistics 1991; Labour Statistics 1990/91; National Development Plan 7, 1991-1997 [NDP, 1991]) on the low participation of women in vocational and technical training, secondary and tertiary education, and certain traditionally male-dominated careers such as engineering and/or science related fields and politics, there are substantial indications that there is a gradual increase in the number of women in educational institutions and the labor force in Botswana. Yet, attitudinal studies conducted elsewhere note that despite all the increase in the participation of women in the corporate world women are still subjected to serious devaluation by their subordinates, colleagues, and supervisors/employers. A great deal of this negative evaluation of women's performance in leadership has been reported in the literature on higher education in western societies (Shakeshaft, 1987; Dagg & Thompson, 1988), science and technology (Jones, 1989), and gender and evaluation of leaders (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). Most of this literature revealed that negative attitudes toward women's capabilities in traditionally male-dominated careers still remain entrenched in the traditions and practices of most

patriarchal social structures, educational institutions, and the hierarchical structures of the various social, political, and cultural organizations dominated by men.

However, there were contradictory viewpoints in the studies on gender and evaluation of leaders regarding the nature of evaluation of women as leaders. More specifically, some studies indicated that women were evaluated less favorably than men when performing leadership and managerial behaviors (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992), yet there were those which presented an opposing view about women (Gray, 1983; Yogev, 1983).

A number of attitudinal studies about women in management suggested that the gradual increase in the participation of women in leadership positions has tremendous impact on people's views of gender stereotyping and gender roles in society today. For example, in a study that examined the relationship among attitudes toward women in general, attitudes toward women managers, and perceptions of the communication competencies of women managers, Berryman-Fink and Wheeless (1984) found that those subjects who had worked with or for a woman manager had more positive attitudes toward women in management than did subjects without work experience with women managers. Berryman-Fink and Wheeless also concluded that "...any employees' negative attitudes toward women managers could be reduced by having those employees work with or for a woman manager in the organization" (p. 14). The two authors acknowledged that such a finding would imply that as more women become managers, attitudes toward them in such a role may become more positive. Further, the results of Berryman-Fink and Wheeless study revealed that men and women do differ in their attitudes toward women managers. According to their study, female respondents reported more positive attitudes toward women as managers than did male respondents.

Gender role differentiation also seems to play a significant role in determining people's participation in certain activities and social roles. The literature published over the last two decades explored this continued entrenchment of the traditional belief systems

about women's roles, cultural models about role differentiation and distinction, and attitudes that influence sex-role stereotypes. According to Oskamp (1977) such stereotypes may be highly evaluative and rigidly resistant to change.

What was evident in some studies was the fact that despite the changes in women's role in the 60's there were no corresponding changes to accept women as contenders for higher positions in educational administration (Nixon, 1975). Most of the traditional, conservative beliefs about gender difference, occupational roles and attitudes continue to dominate the findings on gender inequities in education and administration. It has also been suggested in the literature on women and educational administration that the under-representation of women in senior administrative portfolios is associated with barriers to access to higher positions of authority.

A number of studies on women in administration have delineated several factors believed to be contributing to the low representation of women in administration: sex discrimination, gender role orientation, preferential hiring and promotional practices, negative attitude toward women, beliefs with respect to administration, lack of appropriate requirements, family commitments, and lack of support/encouragement. Among these research studies were those that indicated that despite the increase in the number of women in positions of authority and leadership, very little seemed to have changed with regards to cultural perceptions of women's role and ability in educational administration. Such perceptions are reflected in the androcentric attitudes that continue to maintain and nurture the status quo of gender inequities in a patriarchal social order such as Botswana.

Background to the Problem

Since the beginning of the 1980s there has been growing interest and awareness of gender issues and/or gender inequities in education and the labor force in Botswana. This new consciousness among the professionals, certain politicians, individuals, and women's movements opened a new chapter in the epic struggle for equal opportunities, social

justice, and the quest for full participation by all citizens in the economic, social, cultural, and political development of Botswana society. This growing concern for effects of gender inequities also marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the patriarchal gender system in Botswana. This also ushered in a contemporary understanding of the factors that influence the social inequities and inequalities which continue to plague Botswana society. The current influence, especially among educated working and professional women, introduced new challenges and voices that collaborated to resist the subjugating social constructions of gender in most patriarchal social relations.

It is very important to note that women in Botswana, like in most countries, especially in Africa, have extremely divergent realities that cannot be "pigeonholed" into one generalizable experience. Rural women, for example, are mainly economically dependent on men, living under subsistence relations of production, while most educated working women just like their male counterparts live in the urban centers where the capitalist mode of production is predominant. This diversity in experiences and realities has a great influence on their participation in addressing these gender inequities and inequalities in the economic, political, and cultural organizations designed and run predominantly by men. Like their male counterparts, working women grapple with the realities of urban life: inflation, yearly high rent increases, acute shortage of accommodation, distinctive working milieu, low income, and other problems associated with the urban centers. Generally, the rural populace, on the other hand, experience a relatively different reality. Rural people face mainly problems of underdevelopment, lack of capital resources, and poor social amenities. As a result of these differences in conditions of the life of rural and urban groups their focus and views on a number of issues would be expected to differ substantially. These two groups are also likely to approach inequities differently due to their experiences and expectations. Their perceptions of problems or social issues are also likely to differ considerably.

Although very little has been reported on gender and participation in administration in Botswana there are indications of commitment and growing concern by scholars and practitioners in education to address the gender inequities in decision-making levels of the social, political, and economic structures of Botswana society. For example, a number of conferences, seminars, and research grants on gender issues, especially those organized by the University of Botswana and the Women's Affairs Unit, point to this involvement and awareness. In addition, the involvement of governmental and non-governmental organizations in addressing gender inequalities in educational institutions and various occupations, especially those in the scientific and technological fields or courses, provide a clear indication of the gravity of the problems of gender inequalities in education and the labor force in Botswana. The interest of government in gender issues stemmed from the need to have more women participating in policy formulation and decision-making functions of government (NDP 7, 1991).

This concern also appeals for a re-examination of the change-strategies that are formulated by government and its policy formulation organs to eliminate barriers to advancement of women by bringing about behavioral changes in men and women, structural and legal changes in school and society, and attitudinal changes generally (Shakeshaft, 1987). According to Shakeshaft (1987), there is need for changing the androcentric nature of the culture in which these attitudes flourish, arguing that "all of society, not just individual women, must be altered" (p.125).

Participation of Women in Education in Botswana

The Botswana government's emphasis on female participation in various sectors of economy as reflected in the National Development Plan 7, 1991-1997 (NDP 7, 1991) also indicated the need and importance of meaningful participation of women in national development. Although it does not propose any steps or strategies to realize the goal of improving the participation and representation of women in development, the NDP7,

unlike previous national development plans, placed greater emphasis on female participation and the reduction of educational inequalities at all levels of education and the labor force in Botswana.

Furthermore, NDP7 reflected the government's position on and recognition of the role played by various organizations in bringing about awareness of gender issues and the need for women's involvement in national development. For instance, the role of the University of Botswana in improving women's participation was clearly spelled out in NDP7 as ". . . to heighten gender awareness throughout the university and to increase the university's contribution towards facilitating women's role in development" (p. 351). Another significant gesture was the government's acknowledgment of importance of the contributions by women's organizations and non-formal groups to the national development. This included the government's establishment of the Women's Affairs Unit of the Ministry of Labor and Home Affairs in 1981. This three-person unit was charged with the responsibility of facilitating the integration of women by:

1. coordinating all women's activities at the local and national level;
2. disseminating information to women on all aspects of development;
3. increasing their knowledge and level of awareness; and
4. ensuring that government and non-governmental and private organizations incorporate gender as far as possible in information they generate and disseminate.

The NDP7 also directed attention to the increased participation of women at various levels of education. However, the percentage of women in educational institutions has always been higher than that of men at early years of education. Education statistical information published over the last two decades indicated that female students always outnumbered male students at primary, junior secondary schools, and the teacher training colleges of Botswana. Table 1.1 shows female participation at various levels of education

Table 1.1

Female Student Participation at Various Levels of Education, 1979-1991(%)

Year	Primary	Junior	Senior	V&TT	TTC	UB
1979	55.0	58.7	39.9	33.1	79.9	37.4
1980	54.6	58.9	41.3	25.1	82.9	40.1
1981	54.0	58.2	42.8	34.7	85.4	37.9
1982	53.6	57.1	42.9	29.8	86.0	38.9
1983	53.3	56.6	42.3	23.7	86.7	41.6
1984	52.8	56.1	42.3	33.6	84.1	41.5
1985	52.4	55.3	41.0	35.6	83.8	45.2
1986	51.8	54.2	41.5	30.8	83.3	45.0
1987	51.7	53.2	43.2	21.7	81.8	43.1
1988	51.7	52.3	42.2	33.3	82.4	44.4
1989	51.5	54.1	42.7	32.0	82.5	43.8
1990	51.6	54.7	47.4	27.2	85.1	44.0
1991	51.4	55.4	48.2	31.4	86.3	45.0

Note . Primary enrolls 7-13 year olds while junior caters to 14-16 or 17 year olds. The percentage for junior secondary included Form 1 to 3.
V&TT = Vocational and technical training.
TTC = Teacher Training College.
UB = University of Botswana

Source: *The data were compiled and calculated into percentages from Education Statistics 1991, pp. 3, 12, 13, 16, & 17. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.*

from 1979 to 1991. Although the total student enrollment at teacher training colleges decreased by 5.5% over the last decade, more than 86% of the total student population in 1991 was female (Education Statistics, 1991).

Some of the factors likely to influence the high participation of women in the teacher training colleges of Botswana are: (a) one of the teacher training colleges (Serowe TTC) does not enrol male students, and (b) limited opportunities for women in other fields such as technology and other traditionally male-dominated careers. A possible explanation is that most women still encounter barriers in these male-dominated occupational roles and therefore move to areas such as teaching where they are welcome. On the other hand, vocational and technical training continues to be male dominated, with 69% of the students in 1991 being male (Education Statistics, 1991). The lowest participation of women in 1991 was recorded at the vocational training centers and University of Botswana with 31.4% and 45.0%, respectively. The overall enrollment of female students by year of study at colleges of education in 1991 (See Table 1.2) revealed that 52.7% of the total student body were female.

Table 1.2

Proportion of Female Students by Year of Study in Colleges of Education, 1991

Year	Female(%)
1	55.4
2	51.9
3	48.5
All	52.7

Source: *The data were calculated into percentages from Education Statistics 1991, p. 53. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.*

There are various arguments given regarding the low representation of women in higher levels of education. One popular school of thought for the predominance of males at higher levels of education was that women drop out of school due to pregnancy (see

Table 1.3). In this Table the drop out rate as a percentage of the total enrolment at the secondary school level in 1991 shows from 3.3 - 3.8% due to pregnancy for girls.

Table 1.3

Drop-Out Rate as a Percentage of Total Enrollment in Secondary School, 1991 (%)

Form	Female			Male		
	Pregnancy	Expelled	Other	Pregnancy	Expelled	Other
1	3.4	0.1	2.2	0.0	0.0	2.3
2	3.8	-	2.0	0.1	0.1	1.9
3	3.7	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.3
4	3.6	-	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.8
5	3.3	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.4
All	3.6	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.1	1.6

Source: *Adapted from Education Statistics 1991, p. 44. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.*

Drop-out rate due to pregnancy for female students was highest at Form 2 and 3 with 3.8% and 3.7%, respectively. Surprisingly, Form 5 had the lowest drop-out rate due to pregnancy for girls with 3.3%. A possible reason could be the level of awareness of the methods of contraception among mature students (i.e., fewer pregnancies). Very few boys dropped out due to pregnancy, some were expelled, but the largest percentage dropped out for other reasons..

Although the argument that pregnancy influences under-representation of women at higher levels of education is still subject to debate, there are statistical figures indicating a higher drop-out rate among female students than among males. Table 1.4 presents the reasons for drop-outs by percentage of those who dropped out by gender and Form in

Table 1.4

Reasons for Drop-Outs by Percentage at Secondary School by Form and Gender, 1991 (%)

	Male			Female		
Form	Pregnancy	Expelled	Other	Pregnanc	Expelled	Other
1	1.4	0.9	97.7	59.8	1.4	38.8
2	3.1	3.7	93.2	65.5	-	34.5
3	-	15.4	84.6	91.7	0.8	7.5
4	7.4	3.7	88.9	81.9	-	18.1
5	14.3	33.3	52.4	85.9	1.3	12.8
All	2.9	4.1	93.0	67.5	0.7	31.7

Source: *The data were calculated into percentages from Education Statistics 1991, p. 44. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.*

1991 at secondary school. The highest percentage (91.7%) of girls who dropped out due to pregnancy was in Form 3, while Form 4 lost 81.9% and Form 5 lost 85.9% due to pregnancy. No boys left school due to reasons related to pregnancy in Form 3 in 1991. The reasons for dropping out of school indicated that 67.5% of girls who dropped out of secondary school in 1991 left due to pregnancy, compared to 2.9% of the boys who dropped out.

Statistics from the colleges of education showed that there were no male students who dropped out of college due to reasons associated with pregnancy, while 42.9% of the female students who left college did so because they were pregnant in 1991 (see Table 1.5). In Year 1 about one-third of those who dropped out did so because of pregnancy, while in Year 2 all of those who left did so for reasons of pregnancy. Although pregnancy

Table 1.5

Percentage of Females Who Dropped Out of Colleges of Education Due to Pregnancy, 1991

Year	Percent
1	35.3
2	100.0
3	-
All	42.9

Note. No information is included on males because no males were reported to have left colleges of education due to reasons associated with pregnancy.

Source: *The data were calculated into percentages from Education Statistics 1991, p. 53. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.*

was associated with the under-representation of women at higher levels of education there might be other mitigating factors contributing to this phenomenon, especially in certain social and occupational roles.

An analysis of gender differences in various courses in vocational and technical training revealed a greater preponderance of men in certain careers, especially those related to decision-making, management, and science and technology. Table 1.6 shows that in 1991 women were under-represented in educational institutions that offered mainly courses that were traditionally male-dominated, with Botswana Polytechnic and Autotrades registering only 9.7%. Conversely, the National Health Institute (NHI) ranked high with 84.7% of its student population being female. Women registered in all courses offered by the vocational and technical training institutions was 31.4% in 1991. Such gender disparities by institution tend to be reflected in the workplace.

Table 1.6

Women in Vocational and Technical Training Institutions, 1991

Institution	Female (%)
National Health Institute (NHI)	84.7
Botswana Institute of Administration & Commerce	70.7
Botswana Agricultural College (BAC)	26.5
Brigades	18.2
Government vocational training centers	10.6
Rural Training Center (RTC)	10.2
Polytechnic & Autotrades	9.7
Total	31.4

Source: *The data were compiled and calculated into percentages from Education Statistics 1991, pp. 48-50. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.*

The data from vocational and technical training in 1991 revealed that women were not only under-represented in certain institutions but they were also clustered in careers or courses that were traditionally female-dominated or regarded "lower" in prestige or level than those taken by their male counterparts. For instance, data revealed that a majority of women enrolled at Botswana Agriculture College (BAC) registered for either certificate or diploma courses while men dominated in higher level programs such as Bachelor of Science in Agriculture where women constituted only 31.3% of total number of students registered for this course in 1991. It is worth noting that Animal Health courses were generally dominated by men (Table 1.7). While women accounted for 50% of the total number of students in the Certificate in Agriculture, only 13.0% were represented in the certificate in Animal Health.

Table 1.7

Women's Representation by Course at the Botswana Agricultural College, 1991

Course	Women (%)
Animal health (certificate)	13.0
Animal health (diploma)	2.8[n]
Agriculture (certificate)	50.0
Agriculture (diploma)	27.1
Agriculture education (diploma)	18.2
Bachelor of science (Agriculture)	31.3

Note. [n]*Represents only one female student out of thirty-five students.*

Source: Adopted from Education Statistics 1991 p. 48. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.

Enrollment by course at the Botswana Institute of Administration and Commerce (BIAC) revealed that women accounted for 100.0% of the total number of students in each of the secretarial courses offered by the Institute (Table 1.8). Except for the certificate in public administration and management where only 4.3% of the students were women, enrollment data from this Institute reflected a 70.7% female population. A plausible explanation for the predominance of female students could be due to the nature of the courses offered by the Institute. Most courses offered by the Institute have been regarded as female domains.

Table 1.9 shows the participation of women in brigade courses in 1991. Women dominated in traditionally "female "careers such as textile and bookkeeping and typing, while men represented 81.8% of the total student population. Surprisingly, women dominated the forestry course.

Table 1.8

Women in Botswana Institute of Administration and Commerce, 1991

Course	Women (%)
Certificate in secretarial studies	100.0
Secretarial (elementary)	100.0
Secretarial (intermediate)	100.0
High national diploma in administration	76.2
Accounting (diploma)	74.0
Certificate in computer studies	72.0
Accounting (certificate)	61.5
Diploma in public administration & management	54.2
Certificate in public administration & management	4.3

Source: Adopted from Education Statistics 1991, p. 48. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.

Table 1.9

Participation of Women in Brigade Courses, 1991

Course	Women (%)
Bookkeeping & typing	100.0
Textile	100.0
Forestry	71.4
Plumbing	23.1
Electrical	16.0
Welding	14.1
Carpentry	14.0
Machining	13.3
Building	12.0
Mechanics	7.8
Draughtsmanship	3.4

Note. This Table excludes all the courses where women were not represented. These figures represent the total proportion of women in all the brigades institutions in the country.

Source: Adapted from Education Statistics 1991, p. 48. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.

Women's enrollment at the National Health Institute in 1991 as shown in Table 1.10 point to the predominance of women in the health careers, especially nursing (both enrolled and registered), community health, midwifery, and family nursing. Yet, men

Table 1.10

Women's Enrollment at the National Health Institute, 1991

Course	Women (%)
Community health	100.0
Midwifery	90.1
Nursing (registered)	90.0
Nursing (enrolled)	86.8
Family (nursing)	81.8
Pharmacy technician	57.1
Medical lab. technician	50.0
Dental therapy	33.3

Source: Adapted from Education Statistics 1991, p. 48. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.

dominated dental therapy where they accounted for 66.7%. It is interesting to note that in medical laboratory technology male and female representation was equal. The Roads Training Center (RTC) which offered only two courses in 1991 catered mainly to men; with males represented about 90% the registering students in each course (see Table 1.11).

Table 1.12 shows that government vocational training centers in 1991 were also the preserve for men. Men dominated all the fields with some courses not catering for female students. The highest participation of women was only realized in painting where women accounted for 41.2% of the students enrolled in that course. Other vocational and

Table 1.11

Women at Roads Training Center (RTC), 1991

Course	Women (%)
Highway technician	10.6
Road supervisor's course	9.1

Source: Adapted from Education Statistics 1991, p. 49. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.

technical training institutions such as the Polytechnic and Autotrades did not have female students registered in a number of courses, especially traditionally male-dominated fields. The highest representation of female students was in Laboratory assistant's course with 53.8% followed by Science laboratory technology with 40.0% (see Table 1.13). Education statistics shows that about nine courses did not enroll any female students in 1991.

Table 1.12

Women in Government Vocational Training Centers, 1991

Course	Women (%)
Painting	41.2
Fitting	9.5
Welding	9.5
Building	6.4
Plumbing	5.0
Carpentry	3.4

Note. This Table excludes all the courses where women were not represented.

Source: Adapted from Education Statistics 1991 p. 49. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.

Most of these courses either require the use of heavy machinery or were traditionally male-dominated fields such as mechanical engineering, auto-mechanic, industrial control, motor vehicle, and heavy plant mechanics. It is either women avoided them or were not allowed to offer them.

Table 1.13

Women at the Polytechnic and Auto-Trades, 1991

Course	Women (%)
Laboratory assistant's course	53.8
Science laboratory technician	40.0
Bachelor of education	27.3
Auto - electrical	26.8
B. Eng. building & civil	25.0
B. Eng. electrical	25.0
Ordinary technician diploma in civil engineering	19.1
Water engineering technician diploma 1	18.2
Adult teacher certificate	15.9
Water engineering technician diploma 11	14.3
Building construction	12.5
Diploma in land use studies	12.5
Electrical technician	10.8
Mechanical engineering technician certificate	8.3
Telecoms technician	7.8
Ordinary technician diploma	5.5
Panel beating	3.1

Note. This Table excludes all the courses where women were not represented.

Source: Adapted from Education Statistics 1991 p. 49. Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, published by the Central Statistics Office, Gaborone.

The Proportion of Women in the Labor Force in Botswana

The 1991 Botswana population census reported that women represented approximately 54.6% of the total population (1,352,291) (Statistical Bulletin 1990/91,

1991). Table 1.14 on de facto female population projections, 1981-2001, indicates a higher proportion of women than men.

Although the percentage of women has remained relatively higher and constant over the last two decades, their participation in various areas of economic development and the corporate world has remained significantly low. Men continue to dominate certain occupational roles and areas of influence in the country's political, social, and economic development. A majority of women, especially those in rural areas and/or with relatively low education, continued to be economically and politically dominated by men. It appears that this economic dependence has led to the general economic deprivation and powerlessness among most women in patriarchal social relations. In their explanation of the gender inequalities conflict theorists identified two factors: economic dependency and physical strength.

As Spencer (1985) observed conflict theorists such as Marx and Engels believed that gender inequality existed because:

> there has been patriarchy or male dominance because women must, for at least part of their lives, depend on men for economic support. They maintained that the sexes would become socially equal as soon as women became economically self-sufficient and no longer had to care for children at home....that in cash-based economies, men specialize in working for pay, while women specialize in the "reproduction of labor power." This strange phrase can only be understood in connection with the "labor theory of value," which maintained that the value of any product was determined by the amount of human labor that was required to produce it. (p. 305)

Women, according to Spencer "do not have a source of income of their own under this arrangement and therefore they are more exploited than men" (p. 305). The economic independence and decision-making capacity of any group in society depends upon its economic power and political influence. It is through this power that a group can effectively engage in social action, thus bringing about a change in the status quo of incapacitation and its social position vis-a'-vis other groups in society. A social group's

position determines its power and access to the control of relations of production hence its political influence.

Table 1.14

De facto Female Population Projections (Low variant), 1981- 2001

Year	Women (%)
1981	52.9
1982	52.8
1983	52.7
1984	52.6
1985	52.5
1986	52.4
1987	52.3
1988	52.2
1989	52.1
1990	52.0
1991	52.0
1992	51.9
1993	51.8
1994	51.7
1995	51.7
1996	51.6
1997	51.5
1998	51.5
1999	51.4
2000	51.4
2001	51.3

Note. These figures are projections from 1981 - 2001. The proportion of women in Botswana has remained relatively constant - above half of the total population.

Source: *Adapted from Statistical Bulletin, December 1991, vol., 16 Nos. 3 and 4, p. 3; Printed by the Government Printer, Gaborone: Published by the Central Statistics Office.*

The most intriguing consequence of the social and power relations that take place within women's groups is the relationship between professional women (mainly middle or upper class) and lowly educated lower class women. The professional woman is more economically and socially superior to the "uneducated" woman who is both economically dependent on either her husband or lowly paying jobs offered by both professional men and women, especially those with young children to be taken care of whilst they are at work. By virtue of her economic position the professional woman wields more power and influence than her uneducated counterpart. More specifically, the professional woman (who sometimes proclaims herself as a representative or spokesperson for women as a group) is economically well-to-do and wields more power than the woman working for her or the economically deprived lowly educated woman. What is rather important to note are the contradictions that are brought about by both the economic and power relations found among women's groups. These contradictions are created by the group dynamics that characterize women as a group. The most obvious discrepancy is manifested in the economic position and social status of the professional women and the more lowly educated/rural traditional women.

While the legitimacy of professional women representing women as a social group is not under scrutiny here, the question is whether professional women relate to lower class women in any way different from their male counterparts. How do they relate to women they hire to work for them? For example, in Botswana women who are usually hired as "maids" are poorly paid and sometimes meanly-treated by both men and women who hire them. Such incongruities between what people profess and their actions reveal an even broader problem of engendered social relations between different gender and social classes in most distinctive class societies. While it might be a fact that women as a social group encounter barriers to advancement to higher positions the uneducated women face even greater problems due to their gender and status.

Unfortunately, the traditional role distinction practices are generally inconsistent with current trends and changes in the society, especially with regards to responsibilities both in the family and organizations. Demographic trends as reflected in the statistical information from the Central Statistical Office, Botswana show that today both men and women engage in activities that help sustain their income. Unlike in the past, more women today are likely to participate in work or income-generating activities that might create more demands for those who have or intend to have families. Men, however, are likely to continue to dominate and wield power for as long as women do not have control of the instrument of power and economic relations.

While the percentage of women in Botswana's working force is still relatively small compared to that of men, there are indications of a gradual increase in women's participation in certain sectors of the economy. The growth in the number of women in education and the labor force might be attributed to various factors including a new awareness among women in terms of career opportunities available to them. The labor statistics published after 1980 showed that government, as the largest single employer in the country, employed a relatively higher proportion of women. In 1991, for example, 43.0% of the total central government's workforce were women. This figure was comparatively higher than the 37.8% and 40.3% in 1985 and 1989, respectively (Labour Statistics 1990/91). Although this seemed to show an increase, there was still a notable low representation of women in the workforce. Some careers in Botswana, for instance the armed forces, are still restricted to men.

There were also differences in gender representation in different government sectors. These differences were clearly reflected by government education sector which was registered as a major employer of women, with 68.0% of its workforce being women. The overall proportion of women in the formal sector employment indicated a slight increase from 32.0% in March 1990 to 34.0% in March 1991. Data from labor statistics also showed an increase in female participation in the local government and private sector,

both accounting for 32.0% each, and parastatal 21.0% of the total employment. The only female dominated industries were private education and commerce with 54.0% and 51.0%, respectively, of their employees being females.

Education statistical information on the representation of females in the teaching force/academic staffing revealed that women dominated as primary school teachers, yet their representation was relatively low in other fields of education, especially at the vocational and technical training and university levels. Table 1.15 shows the proportion of women teachers/academic staff at various levels of education. The primary school level staffing has invariably revealed the predominance of women while the secondary school has been dominated by men. For example, in 1993 women accounted for approximately 81.3% of the total teaching force at primary school level compared to the 42.8% at secondary level. Women represented 69.6% of the total number of teachers for the two levels in 1993.

Available data also revealed that 53.2% of the total number of academic staff in the teacher training colleges were female; in the vocational and technical training males dominated as instructors in 1991. Data from the Central Statistics Office (CSO) indicated that no information was available by gender at University of Botswana, brigades, hospitals, government colleges, and colleges of education prior to 1991. However, in 1991 women accounted for 15.6% in government colleges, 11.4% in brigades, and 72.3% at the National Health Institute. While the University of Botswana has been in the lead in organizing forums for gender awareness information, representation by gender at academic staff levels at university has never been published by the Central Statistics Office. Women accounted for 24.2% of the total number of academic staff at the colleges of education, with Molepolole College of Education (MCE) registering 54.2% and Tonota College of Education (TCE) 45.8%. In 1991, while the expatriate population in colleges of education in Botswana was 64% of the total number of academic staff, only 12.7% were women.

Table 1.15

Proportion of Women Academic Staff in Various Levels of Education, 1979-1991

Year	Primary	Secondary	TTC	V&TT
1979	71.3	*	32.7	38.7
1980	73.0	35.3	25.4	44.9
1981	73.9	39.8	22.4	18.6
1982	75.2	40.0	28.8	*
1983	76.3	40.2	33.9	*
1984	76.1	41.3	38.8	29.1
1985	77.9	43.6	37.0	28.2
1986	77.8	40.8	41.0	31.2
1987	78.4	40.2	41.0	18.6
1988	78.4	43.0	51.4	47.9
1989	79.5	44.6	56.4	30.6
1990	79.8	41.2	56.2	28.6
1991	78.2	50.7	53.2	23.7

Note. This Table excludes the University of Botswana, colleges of education, brigades, hospitals, and government colleges because there was no information available by gender prior to 1991. Data on female participation in government colleges, brigades, and hospitals has always been reported under vocational and technical training. Of the total number of academic staff in the government colleges, brigades, and hospitals women accounted for 23.7% in 1991.
**Indicates that there was no information for this particular period.*
V&TT = Vocational and technical training
TTC = Teacher training college

Source*: Compiled and calculated from Statistical Bulletin December, 1991,vol. 16 Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 68 - 9, Printed by Government Printer, Gaborone: Published by the Central Statistics Office.*

It is interesting to note that gender disparities are reflected in all areas of the labor force, including of expatriates. Table 1.16 shows employment and work permit holders in

March, 1991. For instance, data on work permits indicated that 92.0% of the people granted permission to work in Botswana during the period March 1990 to March 1991 were male. Of those people who were granted permission to work in managerial positions in Botswana, 548/575 were male in September 30, 1990 compared to 522/549

Table 1.16

Employment and Work Permit Holders on 31 March 1991

Occupational role	Female (%)
Managers	4.9
Professionals	5.2
Technicians	16.7
Clerks	56.5
Service & sales	18.8
Trade workers	0.2
Machine operators	1.0
Laborers	6.8
Total employees	5.4

Source: Adapted from *Labour Statistics 1991/1992 p. 35. Printed and obtainable from the Government Printer, Gaborone: Published by Central Statistics Office.*

in March 31, 1991. In March 31, 1991 managerial positions male permit holders accounted for 95.1% while women only dominated as clerks where they represented 56.0% of the total permit holders.

Women's Role in Leadership in Botswana

Despite the predominance of women in the education system, available data from the central statistics office of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning in Botswana indicated that women continue to be dominated by men at all levels of administration and decision-making in most education institutions and departments of the Ministry of Education in Botswana. As noted in Women and men: Facts and figures 1991

there are proportionately more men in managerial occupations than women. According to this publication women were still highly under-represented at decision-making levels. The booklet also noted the importance for women to be represented at the decision-making level in order to have a say in the policies and laws of the country. However, while educational administration has been the domain and preserve of men throughout the development of education in Botswana, current statistics on education and employment revealed a relatively steady increase in women's participation in fields that have previously been dominated by men.

Table 1.17

The Proportion of Women in School Administration

		Percent	
Level	Position	1989	1992
Primary	Teachers	79.5	81.9
	School administrators	42.7	42.7
Secondary	Teachers	44.6	42.8
	School administrators	11.0	15.5

Note. This Table does not separate secondary into two levels i.e., junior and senior.
Source: Percentages calculated from data collected from Unified Teaching Service.

Over the past decade, a period of rapid expansion of the education enterprise in Botswana, women have found their way into positions of authority and leadership. Table 1.17 shows that women represented 42.7% of the school administrators at the primary school level and 11% at the secondary level in 1989.

As shown in Table 1.18, in 1992 a greater proportion of women occupied the lower rungs of the administrative ladder in both primary and secondary schools. For example, 81.9% of the senior teachers at primary school level were females in 1992 while 68.9% occupied deputy headship positions. Women seemed to be clustered at the lower rungs of the administrative ladder at primary school level, while men dominated all administration

roles at the secondary school. All four of the teacher training college principals were men, while two women occupied deputy principal positions in 1992. At the University of Botswana, three out of six departments (i.e., nursing education, library studies, and educational foundations) were headed by women. This was not surprising because two of these departments were traditionally the domain for women. The deans of all five faculties and the rest of the senior administration positions in the University of Botswana were men.

What seemed to be clear in the education statistical information was that a majority of education institutions and departments of education were headed by men. In the Ministry of Education, women were only represented as education officer in the primary education department. All senior positions such as regional education officer, senior education officer, principal education officer, and chief education officer in this department were occupied by men. Similarly, women were only represented in lower positions in the secondary education department where they served in traditional female domains such as home economics and languages. Invariably, the top positions of authority in the schools, colleges, the University of Botswana, and certain Ministry of Education departments in Botswana were dominated by men despite the fact that women generally outnumber men in these institutions and departments. Consequently, there has been a relatively low representation of women in all spheres of policy formulation and top level decision-making in the education system. A small number of women have been clustered at the lower rungs of the administrative ladder where their influence on policy would be relatively insignificant with regards to the direction and growth of the education system. This gender inequality in educational administration raises the question: Why do women have limited access to leadership roles? What factors contribute to gender inequalities in educational administration?

Although the statistical information indicates an increase in the number of women entering educational administration and the traditionally male-dominated professions, a number of studies elsewhere revealed that very little seems to have changed with regards to

Table 1.18

Proportion of Women in Decision-making Positions in Education Institutions and Departments of the Ministry of Education, 1992

Level	Status	Percent
Primary school	Senior teacher	81.9
	Deputy head	68.9
	Head of school	42.7
Junior secondary school	Deputy head	30.4
	Head of school	16.3
Senior secondary school	Deputy head	17.6
	Head of school	8.7
Primary education department*	Education officer	36.1
Secondary department*	Senior education officer	20.0
Teacher education department	Teacher advisors	94.7[n]
	Center director	66.7
	Education officer(Primary)	66.7
	Field education officer(Secondary)	22.6
Teacher training colleges*	Deputy head	50.0
Colleges of education*	Deputy head	-
	Principal	50.0
University of Botswana*	Head of department	50.0

Note. [n]*Only one male was a teacher advisor.* **Only positions where women were represented were included.*

Source: Compiled and calculated from various sources such as Unified Teaching Service (UTS) list of teachers & Education Statistics, 1991.

society's perceptions of women's leadership role in traditionally male-dominated fields. There are some indications in the literature from Botswana that androcentric attitudes and gender constructions influence the participation of male and female in various spheres of life such as subject selection (Duncan, 1989), participation in politics (Nengwekhulu, 1989; Molutsi, 1989; Holm, 1989), and decision-making (Hermans & Nteta, 1992).

Like in most patriarchal gender systems of the world, gender seemed to play a significant role in determining the participation of every individual in Botswana's social, economic, and political spheres of life. In their review of literature on men's attitudes toward women in Botswana, Hermans and Nteta (1992) pointed out that in the past:

> A woman was not expected to take part in governing others and only held political office on rare occasion when she might be called upon to act as regent for a chief during his minority. Women were previously excluded from kgotla meetings and sometimes from cattle kraals, and during their time of menstruation were considered to be ritually impure; as such they could not participate in traditional religious activities. (p. 2)

Such sentiments on the existing cultural barriers to women's ascension to leadership positions, especially in the political arena were reported during presentations on democracy in Botswana in 1989. For example, Holm (1989) noted that Batswana traditionally did not permit women to participate in most political activities; observing that:

> These days this cultural barrier is still present. The Democracy Project survey showed that close to a majority of the public in the rural areas said that a woman should not run for president. Even for lower political office, women face serious prejudice in terms of running for office, and politicians are not likely to risk supporting them. The consequence is that many very capable women do not even contemplate politics as a career. So far there have only been three women in parliament. (p. 196)

Although gradual changes are taking place in the political sphere, women in position of authority in higher offices of government are still lowly represented. For example, all but one cabinet minister were male in 1989. In his discussion on class and gender discrimination Nengwekhulu (1989) remarked:

> Political parties in Botswana also discriminate on the basis of gender. The parties exclude women from senior party positions as well as from nomination for a parliamentary and council positions. Only one woman was nominated for a parliamentary seat in the 1984 general elections out of 81 candidates nominated by all parties. There are two women in the parliament out of 38 members. One of these fills a nominated seat. Thus parliament is almost exclusively a male political preserve. (p. 207)

Nengwekhulu pointed out that there was no evidence that male domination of Botswana's political parties would change in the future, indicating that "perhaps the women's movement in Botswana, especially Emang Basadi, would accelerate the process for recognition and acceptance of the political rights of women in Botswana"(p. 208). What seemed to emerge clearly from most discussions on attitudes of society toward women's role was the argument that prejudice against women as leaders was embedded in the culture of the social and political institutions of Botswana society. This school of thought also suggests that any attempt to change the status quo of male domination will always be met with great resistance when the changes "run counter to the deeply held customs and traditions" (Mokama, 1989, p. 159).

As Molutsi (1989) concluded, in Botswana gender also remains an important factor with regard to entry into Botswana's politics. In a mass survey, Molutsi found that 40% of the respondents expressed reservations on women in leadership positions. Over 80% of the cabinet ministers and members of parliament said that nothing needed to be done to facilitate female participation in politics. Molutsi also reported that these respondents "alleged in one way or another that conditions already existed that give women equal chance with men in politics" (p. 125). The literature on gender in Botswana seemed to highlight the fact that although the number of women in education institutions and the labor force has increased, various groups in society still continue to express their reservations on women in leadership positions. Women still face various cultural barriers established and maintained by the economic, political, and social structures that were founded on male values and attitudes.

Unfortunately, a large portion of the research on factors that influence gender inequalities failed to acknowledge the socioeconomic, political, and cultural origins of the problem of under-representation of women in leadership positions. Some of the analysis presented on gender inequality does not take cognizance of the ideological and political basis of gender. Gender, according to such analysis, was seen as a neutral phenomenon

divorced from other social constructions and power relations of a patriarchal social setting. To understand gender inequities in Botswana society, therefore, one should examine it within the existing cultural, socio-economic, political structures.

The Structure of the Education and Training System in Botswana

Education and training in Botswana have been the main cornerstones of the development of human resources. The rapid expansion of these two main components of human resource development has been the focus of government to meet the growing needs of Botswana's expanding economy. At independence in 1966 the new Botswana government was faced with the enormous task of addressing the acute manpower shortage and improving the quality of life of Batswana. As reflected in several development plans and reports, education has always taken a large share of the government's recurrent expenditures. Government, therefore, has always played a major role in education and training in Botswana. This role included the planning and supervision of the education and training activities together with the provision of guidance and direction through curriculum development.

At the time of independence in 1966 there were approximately 239 primary schools (Coles, 1986) compared to 636 in 1990. In 1990 the number of secondary schools had increased to 170 compared to the 9 that existed prior to independence. Both primary and secondary education have been financed and aided by government. A large number of primary schools were under the control of a District Council, while few were under the direction of missions (especially, established churches), private and government agencies. According to Coles (1986) at the secondary level only 2 of 9 schools had a five-year program while the rest of the schools, built and managed mainly by the community or church, private agencies prepared students for the junior certificate. Only two teacher training colleges were in existence at the time of independence.

The post-independence era reflects an emphasize on education and manpower development. The current education structure consists of seven years of primary, two years of junior secondary and three years of senior secondary education. While the primary and junior secondary programs require students to take local examinations to determine their progression to the next level, the senior secondary school level examinations are external, specifically, the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (COSC). A child's sixth birthday determines eligibility to enter Standard 1, while final examinations are required for entry to other levels such as junior and senior secondary. Although repetition is allowed in Standards 4 and 7 on the basis of the outcome of the Standard 4 attainment and standard 7 examinations, automatic promotion determines the progression of a student from one Standard or Form to another. Setswana is the medium of instruction in Standards 1 to 4, and thereafter it is English.

The brigades and teacher training colleges may admit primary school leavers who are not eligible to proceed to junior secondary school. However, to qualify for further training at teacher training colleges, the primary school graduates are required to teach as unqualified teachers for at least two years and then sit for an entrance examination. Unlike for primary school graduates, there is a variety of options available for junior secondary school leavers. These options include proceeding to senior secondary school, vocational training, primary teacher training, and clerical courses. Senior secondary school graduates may enroll either at the polytechnic or university for degree programs or at colleges of education for a diploma in secondary education. Others opt for diploma or degree programs at the Botswana Agricultural College or take nursing at the National Health Institute (NHI). The Botswana Institute of Administration and Commerce (BIAC), the Roads Training Center, the Police College, and other institutions of higher learning offer specialized programs that also enroll senior secondary school leavers. Those whose programs (e.g., medicine and other science related careers) are not available

in Botswana are placed in institutions abroad after completing their second year at the university.

While the focus of the formal education system is to provide education and training for qualified learners the non-formal education programs cater to those who do not qualify to enter formal education programs. The programs offered by the non-formal education structure include the National Literacy Program whose main aim is to provide participants with the ability to read and write Setswana, as well as basic numeracy. Correspondence programs, on the other hand, offer adults and students who have dropped out of the formal system an opportunity to complete either a junior school certificate or Cambridge Overseas School Certificate program. Extension service programs provided by various departments of government cater to groups such as mothers, farmers, teachers, community workers, and other groups, especially in rural areas. For those working in specialized fields such as telecommunications, the bank, the army, and other public and private sector organizations, special training is provided by the respective organizations and their agencies.

The Ministry of Education through its various departments is the main coordinator and supervisor of education in Botswana. Each department is responsible for one or more aspects of the education system. For example, the Unified Teaching Service is responsible for the recruitment and deployment of primary, secondary, and teacher training personnel. Further it deals with matters related to remuneration and discipline of the these teachers. The Department of Primary and Secondary Education is responsible for "coordination and development of pre-service and inservice teacher training programmes" (NDP 7, 1991, p. 313). At the primary school level the Ministry of Education is responsible for the provision of teachers, their supervision and curriculum development, while the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, through district councils, provides classrooms, supplies and any other facilities required by schools.

The Colonial legacy and Participation of Women in Educational Administration

At independence Botswana inherited a hierarchically structured male-dominated bureaucratic establishment imposed during the eighty years of British indirect rule. This foreign political and organizational structure formed part of a colonial legacy that maintains the system of social discrimination and exclusion of certain groups, particularly women from meaningful participation in the political and economic development of Botswana society. Despite all its claims about democracy, non-discrimination, equity, and social justice the Botswana society is still plagued with social inequities of unprecedented proportion. Some of these inequalities are manifested in the distinctive social strata, gender inequity in political leadership, education, and the economic deprivation of the rural populace, especially those living in remote areas such as the Kgalagadi.

During eighty years of governing Botswana, the British imperial government engaged in a policy of training a select group of men as tax collectors, clerks, and primary school teachers, most of whom occupied positions of authority and senior decision-making positions in neocolonial Botswana. At independence the current neocolonial government not only maintained the etiquette of the colonial establishment but fashioned mainly its education and political systems according to the values, political practices, and philosophical foundations that nourished attitudes alien to Botswana social and economic set-up. Consequent to the adherence to the colonial legacy education institutions and their curriculum impart values and content that nourish and sustain this entrenched neocolonial establishment of a male dominated bureaucracy. Notably, subject selection at secondary school still reflects gender stereotypic attitudes of the 1960s when certain careers were specifically for men while fields such as nursing, home economics, and teaching were domains for women. To address the gender inequalities in educational administration and their effect on different groups in society, education practitioners and policy-makers need to re-examine the values and attitudes, ethos and philosophical assumptions that the

Botswana education system and society are teaching young children both at home and school.

Statement of the Problem

This study was designed to ascertain the attitudes of teachers and administrators toward women, and the role these attitudes play in determining the gender representation in educational administration in Botswana. Data gathered by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) in Gaborone, Botswana over the last ten years revealed gender differences in enrollments in education institutions, the labor force, and the general participation of women in economic and national development. These gender differences were also reported in studies on gender and education in Botswana. The critical point is that these studies tended to focus on the participation of women in education, thus ignoring the implications of their under-representation in policy formulation and decision-making. In addition, no emphasis was placed on the role played by the existing organizational structures and andocentric attitudes in maintaining the status quo of gender inequalities in Botswana society. Despite all the claims about non-discriminatory laws and organizational structures, equity, and equal opportunities for both men and women, the latter still find themselves stuck in powerless positions (Gwendoline-Konie, 1982). Gwendoline-Konie (1982) pointed out that women in Southern African societies find it difficult to accede to high positions of authority.

The literature on women in administration noted several factors that have contributed to the problem of gender inequality in educational administration. The literature also identified various methodologies used to examine the problem of the lack of advancement of women to higher positions. A survey of these teacher and administrator attitudes and perceptions of the barriers to advancement of women was deemed appropriate for investigating gender inequality in educational administration in Botswana schools. It is also relevant to point out that although this study is on Botswana, it has used

literature from other parts of the world to develop its theoretical base. In addition, the study rests on the assumption that attitudes determine people's actions and influence perceptions and behavior under certain conditions.

Despite the growth in the number of women in the education institutions and the labor force, attitudes, perceptions, and general stereotypes about the role of women in society and development still remain largely unaffected, especially in societies where role differentiation and role distinction seem to determine participation in certain activities. However, some progress in the increase of opportunities for women in the labor force has been made in some fields since the beginning of the 1980s. This was the period that ushered in new challenges to the social, political, economic, and cultural structures that were designed, maintained, and dominated by a male bureaucracy. Botswana's society, like most patriarchal gender systems worldwide, has faced these forces of change in the power relations that have, since time immemorial, been the pillars of most of the social inequalities.

Different people may perceive the barriers to career advancement differently. Teachers and administrators are likely to uphold different attitudes toward women administrators and these attitudes and perceptions of women's leadership capability may have a bearing on the low participation of women in educational administration. The growing number of women in educational administration may only mark policy changes that are formulated to disguise the problem by instituting "cosmetic changes" that continue to accommodate the existing gender inequalities in decision-making levels of the education system. Conversely, the legislative attempt to redress the inequalities in opportunities may not influence the changes in perceptions and attitudes toward women as leaders that have been formed and ingrained in the minds of many people in society.

The Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study was to identify and examine teacher and administrator attitudes and perceptions of the barriers, and strategies toward advancement of women in educational administration. More specifically, the following questions were addressed:

1. What are the attitudes of teachers and administrators toward women in educational administration?

2. What are the teachers' and administrators' perceived barriers and incentives for women's advancement in educational administration?

3. How effective are the strategies used for greater participation of women in educational administration?

4. What is the effect of personal and professional variables on the perceptions of attitudes, barriers, and strategies of women in educational administration?

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study lies in its focus on the investigation of the teacher and administrator attitudes, perceptions of the barriers and incentives for the advancement of women administrators. Although attitudes of society are frequently viewed as a major cause in the under-representation of women in scientific and technological fields, there are few studies which have investigated its impact on other areas, especially educational administration. This limited knowledge on attitude as a contributory factor to the low representation of women in educational administration could invariably affect policy-making, curriculum planning, school practices, and selection criteria to higher positions of leadership. This study could contribute considerably to the knowledge on gender disparity in educational administration in Botswana and serve as valuable resource for future research in this area.

The widespread attention and dialogue of educators concerning the limited representation of women in certain careers in Botswana is reflected in the seminars, conferences, and increasing studies on gender and education by the National Institute of

Development Research and Documentation (NIR), University of Botswana, Gaborone. This proliferation of publications and discussions on gender and education in Botswana points to the gravity of the situation of gender inequity in education. However, there is little evidence that substantive reports about gender difference and educational administration in Botswana have been published.

This study will probably be among the first in Botswana to focus on this area of concern. The study is important on a number of different levels. In this world of economic development and technological advancement when equity of gender, equal opportunities in education, leadership, and equity are popular topics, it is worth noting that there is still a disparity in the participation of men and women in higher positions of authority and decision-making. More educated women continue to find it difficult to accede to higher positions of authority in education. There is still a low representation of women in the fundamental areas of school management and policy-making level despite all the talk about equal opportunities and anti-discrimination propensity that seems to gain ground, especially among the middle class women elite.

Curriculum developers, career advisors/guidance teachers, students of educational psychology, educational administrators, policy-makers, and those individuals concerned specifically with gender inequalities in educational administration will find this study significant and practically useful in their pursuit of the advancement of women in the educational administration. There has been an increase in literature on gender and education in Botswana with a special focus on the education and/or schooling of boys and girls, especially in science and technology. This widespread attention on girls in science and technology stems from the fact that there is an under-representation of women in these important fields that are among the highest in occupational status and income (Fitzgerald and Betz, 1983). The Botswana National Development Plan 7, 1991-1997, chapter 14 on Education and Manpower development, unlike previous ones, lays great emphasis on female participation, especially in the fields of science and technology. Unfortunately the

government's focus has been limited to these two areas, thereby ignoring the participation of women in policy-formulation and decision-making. However, this emphasis of government on female participation indicates government's concern and probable commitment to the issue of gender disparity in education and development.

When viewed from the aspect of development and equity, perceptions and attitudes toward women administrators become an important topic to investigate, particularly those processes which run counter to the full participation of women in school administration, thus contributing to their under-representation in decision-making and policy formulation. This study was conducted to provide data for generating new strategies to increase future access of women in school administration and for developing gender free materials for schools in Botswana. In addition, it sought to generate more topics for research in the area of gender and administration in Botswana.

Basic Assumptions

1. Although teachers and administrators may not differ in their professional outlook and role orientation, there are a number of potentially important variables that might influence their perceptions of the barriers and incentives of advancement of women to administration positions in schools of Botswana. This research assumed that the attitudes and perceptions of teachers and administrators play a significant role in influencing women's decisions to take positions of responsibility in administration.

2. It was also assumed that the attitudes of teachers and administrators toward women administrators may contribute to the low representation of women in positions of authority in education.

3. It was assumed that the survey and interview schedule would allow for adequate responses to differentiate between the different attitudes of males and females in the sample of teachers and administrators.

Delimitations of the Study

The study was delimited to perceptions and attitudes of teachers and administrators that are related to barriers to the advancement of women to positions of authority in primary and secondary schools in Botswana. It was recognized that gender inequality in the leadership of either secondary or primary schools of Botswana would be a result of a number of factors that could not be studied in isolation or as discrete determinants of advancement to higher positions of leadership. The selected sample of subjects and the research procedures were developed for the exploration of a number of variables likely to influence gender polarization in educational administration in Botswana. Further, the interview sample was delimited to thirty participants.

Limitations of the Study

The limitation of this study was that it did not look at the underlying cultural, social, political, and economic structures that maintain and sustain gender inequality in educational leadership. The study focused mainly on identifying and examining the attitudes toward women education administrators with a view to understanding some of the existing barriers to advancement of women to senior positions. This limited the study to a description of the problem without looking closely at the forces that have created and sustained gender disparity in educational leadership in Botswana.

There were also inherent limitations in the research methodology used in this study. The most obvious one was that the survey provided a cross-sectional investigation of teacher and administrator attitudes and experiences rather than an in-depth examination of these behaviors. Perhaps a longitudinal study would provide some alternative data that would help to establish some consistency in the attitudes and beliefs about women as leaders. Although respondents were invited to indicate their experiences in working with a woman administrator, some respondents, especially those who had never worked with a woman as a leader, indicated that they presented their beliefs about women instead of their experiences working with women. It may also be difficult to remember some of

these experiences and therefore some respondents might have presented what they thought the researcher wanted to know.

Definition of Terms

For purposes of this study the following terms were defined as:

1. Advancement--career or occupational mobility.

2. Attitudes--one's disposition to respond positively or negatively towards an object.

3. Barriers--any deterrents to change and development.

4. Educational administrator--any person designated head of a school or institution or department in education; i.e., education officer, head of institution, senior teacher administration and deputy head of school.

5. Gender-- masculinity and femininity or male and female.

6. Gender inequality--lack of fairness for a particular gender or disproportionate gender representation.

7. Patriarchal gender systems--a institutionalized male dominated system that considers traits, behaviors, and patterns of social interaction prescribed for society's members based on sex, role differentiation, and social control.

8. Professional status--position held in the school or education department.

9. Years of teaching experience--the total number of years as a teacher.

10. Years of total education experience--combination of teaching experience and years in current position.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters which are subdivided into various topics. Chapter One provided introductory information on women's participation in education and the labor force in Botswana for the last decade; statement of the problem; delimitations, limitations and basic assumptions of the study; definition of terms; and organization of the thesis.

Chapter Two presents a review of the literature related to attitudes toward women administrators and attitudes and perceptions of the barriers to advancement of women.

This chapter also summarizes earlier research literature pertinent to the study. Emphasis is placed on the findings, research methodologies, and major conclusions of earlier studies. The review of related literature focuses on literature discussing the attitudes towards women in general, but emphasis is on administration and perceived barriers to advancement of women in administration.

Chapter Three contains a description of the methodology used in conducting the study. This chapter comprises a detailed description of the research design, population and sampling procedures, instrumentation and pilot study, questionnaire design, interview schedule, and data collection and analysis. Chapter Four summarizes the findings of the study and the quantitative and qualitative treatment of the data. Chapter Five provides a summary, conclusions, and implications of the study. This chapter incorporates some of the theoretical consequences of results. The latter part of the chapter highlights some suggestions for further research and policies on women in Botswana. References and appendices follow Chapter Five.

CHAPTER TWO

RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents a review of literature related to this study. The review is divided into three major sections: (1) literature on organizational factors and participation of women in male-dominated occupational roles, (2) personal motivational factors and contradictory gender expectations, and (3) societal influences on gender representation in educational and occupational roles. Each of these topics are subdivided into subheadings. The chapter ends with a summary of each of the three main topics.

Organizational Factors and Participation of Women

It has been suggested in the literature on women and educational administration that the under-representation of women in senior administrative positions is associated with barriers to access to higher positions of authority. Women are still relegated to powerless positions and economic deprivation consequently preventing them from having sufficient influence on the policies and political direction of most organizations. Their participation is concentrated in a small number of social service-oriented fields, the lower rungs of the occupational ladder, and less prestigious social and occupational roles. As indicated in the literature elsewhere, especially western society barriers to access to higher positions of authority may still account for the under-representation of women in educational administration in Botswana. A number of studies and literature on gender inequalities have listed factors believed to contribute to the low percentage of women in certain occupational roles or courses traditionally dominated by men. Among these factors were those related to organizational structure and practices of organizations, societal influences, and the personal motivational factors and contradictory gender expectations.

Whitaker and Hein (1991) cited several exploratory models that were used by researchers in their investigation of factors influencing predominance of men in educational leadership: (a) those that analyzed the barriers in terms of sex-role stereotyping, sex-role

socialization, career socialization, and organizational characteristics, (b) women's place model, i.e., those who assumed that women's non-participation is based solely on social norms, (c) the discrimination model, which assumes that institutional patterns are a result of the efforts of one group to exclude the participation of another, (d) meritocracy model, which assumes that the most competent people are promoted, and (e) others focused on two theoretical positions. The latter category emphasized, first, the internal barriers that keep women from advancing, with socialization and sex-role stereotyping seen as the guiding forces behind women's behavior. This standpoint ascribes failure of the woman to her lack of achievement in school leadership. The other theoretical view identified organizational structure that shapes the behavior of its members as responsible for the low participation of women in educational administration.

Other research studies (Brenton, 1980; Viladsen & Tack, 1981; Dublon, 1983) have sought to delineate those social, psychological, and institutional factors which are perceived to be limiting women's opportunities for advancement. Brenton (1980), for example, intimated that factors such as discrimination, socialization, sex-stereotyping, lack of female role models, and the absence of an "old girl" network have been blamed for the shortage of women in higher educational administration. Consistent with Brenton's intimation is the fact that networking has been viewed by contemporary writers on women and administration as the pillar of male domination in many organizations. Yet, women have rarely utilized the power of networking to transform the male-dominated organizational structure.

Traditional organizational structure and women's participation. Women have always remained "outsiders" in male-dominated organizations (Cullivan, 1990) because recruitment to the "boys' club" is based on understanding its culture and set of rules. Commenting on power and the problems associated with it, Cullivan (1990) stated that "formal structures, informal structures, rules and values of organizations reflect male experiences and can be difficult for women to understand" (p. 11). These male experiences

are an obstacle to women's participation and penetration of the male competitive culture of female exclusion and dominance. To guard against "intrusion," dominant groups skillfully exclude those who want to belong to their cluster by selection of their kind; those who uphold similar beliefs, and those who won't "delude" their fellowship or interfere with their security. Most selection boards in organizations are dominated by men who are "not quite sure that women understand the rules of the game, that they are team players, that they can be trusted to be loyal and to perform competently when the going gets rough" (Cullivan, 1990, p. 11). Yet, as Cullivan (1990) observed, these women can be trusted in administrative positions that are not influential or "have less communication with the primary organizational hierarchy" (p. 11). Cullivan suggested that those who participate in selection should overcome any reservations about the ability of women to perform administrative work. Further, Cullivan noted that very often women tend to be employed in positions that have no base from which to advance:

> Women tend to be hired for specific tasks which men believe are safe for the organization, which reflect male attitudes about appropriate female fields of endeavor, and which often do not require the valued professorial credentials. Academic women have been encouraged to take on traditional female roles of being helpful and nurturing by serving on committees or advising additional students. (p. 12)

In 1980 Brenton studied women known to be serving as chancellors, provosts, trustees, presidents, vice-presidents, or deans of administration in public community colleges of the United States of America. All the respondents indicated that their motivation and determination to succeed had a significant influence in their selection to top-level positions. Brenton (1980) bid women to view themselves as leaders if they are to be promoted to positions of responsibility, charging that:

> Women candidates lack visibility and are, therefore, rarely suggested for top-level positions. Even those persons who desire and are willing to recommend women are often not aware of and do not know how or where to locate women qualified for job openings. (p. 21)

Furthermore, Brenton found that 70% of the respondents in her study believed that their personal relationships with both men and women in the organization, especially those holding superior positions, had great influence in their selection for a top-level position.

Although most of the studies failed to determine the basis of the continued acceptance of male domination, a number of them identified the barriers to women's advancement to the upper echelons of the world of management. Furthermore, regardless of the change-strategies used to eliminate barriers to women's advancement, the organizational context in which women work need to be changed. It would not be enough to eliminate barriers without examining the values and behaviors that influenced the participation of women in occupational activities or leadership roles. Shakeshaft (1987) held that "even well-trained, well-prepared women aren't hired for administrative positions" (p. 135).

While it is significant to determine and eliminate barriers to advancement of women it would be equally important to transform or re-define the value systems and attitudes that influence these barriers. More often practitioners have concentrated on coming up with new policies, laws, and decrees to demolish barriers to equal participation and/or access. Despite all these efforts to alter the sexist practice of social exclusion and segregation of certain groups from equal participation in leadership the situation remains incessantly restrictive. More specifically, the social inequalities have continued to plague the society's structures chiefly because these policy and legislative changes do not address the underlying determinants of difference in participation and equal access to leadership roles.

The research on women in administration was varied in its philosophical orientation, methodological outlook, and tone. This variation depended on the ideological perspective of the researcher and also determined the change-strategies recommended and put into place by practitioners and/or organizations. Shakeshaft (1987) argued that change-strategies vary depending upon which conceptual lens were used to view the barriers. According to Shakeshaft efforts have always been made to increase representation of

women in administration. These efforts included strategies that were aimed at changing the individual women and to a limited extent, the organization. Shakeshaft also observed that very few strategies have tried to change the larger societal context within which these individuals and organizations operate, adding that very little has been done to change the nature and behavior of male school board members and administrators.

School boards and administrators determine the criteria for staff selection and also participate in the selection process of the candidate into leadership positions. This suggests that the selection criteria and structures currently used to choose individuals for higher positions need to be critically reassessed or drastically altered if participation of women at top levels of the organization is expected to improve. The choice of a person to occupy a position of authority might reflect their attitude toward him/her and also indicates their expectations of that individual by the selection panel. Some studies on personnel selection have noted the influence of expectations on the choice of an individual to a position of responsibility. Whitaker and Hein (1991) contended that men appear to have an advantage in the area of recommendation for positions in educational administration. The results of their study indicated that principals recommended males for administrative positions to a greater extent than females despite their less favorable perceptions of men's capabilities. Whitaker and Hein (1991) pointed out that the discrepancy had to do with fewer women being qualified to assume administration positions together with the fact that:

> Sex-role stereotyping and traditional myths still exist, hindering women from entering administration. Whether an opportunity to assume a leadership position in education settings presents itself, or is consciously sought after, the successful candidate must be perceived as a leader, mostly by males who are in the position of selecting and recommending. (p. 49)

There were indications in the literature on personnel selection that the selection criteria played a significant role in determining the gender representation in leadership roles. Men continue to procure favored treatment in terms of administrative promotion regardless of their perceived ineptitude in instructional leadership compared to women (Whitaker &

Hein, 1991). Gender bias in selection for positions of authority reflects the apprehensive attitudes toward women's ability in leadership roles in traditionally male-dominated fields. This preferential treatment of men continues to dominate research findings (Cullivan, 1990; Fandt, Lewis, & Sutton, 1990) on personnel selection. The continued male-dominance in educational leadership despite women's perceived aptitude to "build a school community that stresses achievement within a supportive atmosphere" (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 200) has far reaching implications on promotion practices. It calls for an examination of society's values, beliefs, and attitudes, particularly with regards to evaluation of the different groups in society. Attitude toward an individual may either motivate or de-motivate such an individual into taking a position of responsibility or even lower their aspirations in a certain field.

Recognizing the power of male culture and its inherent deterrents to women's ascension to the organizational hierarchy some writers and women's movements have proposed that women should form networks to counter and also penetrate the male power base. Green (1982) had this to say about the role of networks in the advancement of women in administration:

> Networking has become an important dimension of women's advancement into traditionally male power structure. Successful networking should serve to create a support and information network among women as well as to provide access to established leadership. Whether networking is individual or institutionalized, ... it must be aware of both its powerful potential and its very real pitfalls. (p. 65)

A network can be an effective means of transforming the male-dominated power structure by providing an access to the power base of men's political hegemony in organizations. Green (1982) asserted that networking was the most effective method for women who have made some progression; advising women to "know who the key players are and where to begin to tap in for information" (p. 66). Women, however, have not been able to penetrate this male power structure and repulsive disposition of the "boys' club."

Work environment for women in male dominated organizations. Another important point to note is that existing organizational models are based on the assumption that the structures of administration create an environment conducive for the behaviors and actions of men as well as women (Shakeshaft, 1987). Shakeshaft pointed out that although the activities that women and men undertake to fulfill their job responsibilities are very similar some differences exist in the ways they spend their time, in their interactions with their subordinates, in their perceptions of them by others, and in the satisfaction they derive from their work. She further argued that these differences in approach to their work and social relationships combine to create a work environment that is different for women than for men.

Some studies (Thorner, 1989; Blum, 1991; Parson, Sands, & Duane, 1991) on work environment in which women operate reported lack of a conducive atmosphere for most working women in male-dominated organizations. Blum (1991) concluded that female professors, staff members, and administrators in academe face a hostile work environment due to the persistent and widespread gender discrimination and sexual harassment. This hostile environment accounted for differential progress of women (Parson, Sands, & Duane, 1991) and was responsible for undermining the morale of women in administration. According to Parson, Sands, and Duane, (1991) "the more subtle differential treatment of women creates an uncomfortable atmosphere and undermines productivity" (p. 19).

An examination of several studies on women in academe revealed that negative attitudes of college students toward their female professors influenced these students' evaluation of these professors' performance. Consequent to their devaluation, most of these professors found it difficult to work in such environments where they had to work twice as hard to be regarded fit to hold a professional and/or administrative position. In educational settings studies have highlighted some of the prejudices students have toward female professors, especially "if women violate gender stereotypes or participate in gender-

atypical professions" (Fandt, Lewis, & Sutton, 1990, p. 102). Fandt et al. (1990) noted that female professors were more likely to be negatively evaluated by students than were male faculty members. Students were also found to be less tolerant of the female professors, especially when female professors failed to meet gender-appropriate expectations. "These differential expectations were probably a function of stereotypical attitudes that had been developed earlier in the socialization process" (Fandt et al. 1990, p. 102). This has practical implications on training and socialization processes that go on at home and in school. These two social institutions (the home and the school) need to aim at exposing learners to both male and female leaders and a multiplicity of roles in society and the corporate world.

Attitudes toward women in traditionally male-dominated occupational roles. For many years researchers and writers on gender and leaders reported that women were evaluated less favorably than their male counterparts. Specifically, women were perceived as having less ability and effectiveness as leaders. In addition, their leadership roles were devalued relative to their male counterparts. However, such gender stereotypic perceptions of women's leadership roles have been subjected to serious challenge by many contemporary researchers whose findings seemed to refute claims of the 1960s and early 1970s when women's performance in leadership roles was still negatively evaluated. In an article reviewing research on the appraisal of women as leaders, Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky (1992) found evidence in the literature revealing that there was devaluation of women in leadership. According to Eagly et al. (1992) the tendency for respondents to evaluate female leaders less favorably than male leaders was more pronounced under two environments: (a) women in leadership positions were devalued relative to their male counterparts when leadership was carried out in stereotypically masculine styles, particularly when this style was autocratic or non-participative, and (b) negative attitudes toward women prevailed when leaders occupied male-dominated roles and when evaluators were men. Eagly et al. (1992) noted that these findings suggested that female managers

may indeed be victims of prejudiced evaluations. These prejudiced evaluations may be a reflection of the differential attributions of male and female respondents on performance variables in leadership roles.

Garland, Hale, and Brunson (1982) reported differences in attributions of male and female respondents on two variables of success and failure of female managers. Male respondents were highly supportive of earlier findings on a similar study, by the same authors, that suggested that attitudes toward women in management were significantly related to attributions for success instead of failure. On the other hand, females showed that attitudes toward women in management were associated with attributions for failure not for success. Garland et al.(1982) concluded that the differences in attitudes between male and female respondents could suggest that males expect failure from female managers while females would instead expect success. The practical implications of these findings are that the elimination of barriers to advancement would include changing those attitudes that militate against women in leadership roles. This may also suggest that covert gender discrimination practices might continue to influence decisions of the personnel selection board members or employers to reward individuals according to their gender. It also suggests that selection committees may discriminate on the basis of their attributions of failure and/or success of the candidate.

Contrary to the belief that interaction with female administrators may generate positive attitudes toward women in leadership, Garland et al.(1982) found that:

> Even among males in an occupation that brings them into substantial professional contact with females, attitudes towards women in management predict the manner in which success of these female colleagues will be interpreted. Specifically, the more positive a male's attitude toward women in management, the more likely he will be to attribute the success of a female manager to her own ability or efforts. (p. 161)

While male respondents interpreted female leaders on the basis of their attributions for success rather than failure, female participants' appraisal of female managers was a result of

their attributions for failure not success. Concomitant with females' interpretation of female leaders was that female respondents with:

> positive attitudes toward women in management were more likely to attribute a female manager's failure to the job itself and less likely to attribute it to lack of ability than females with negative attitudes toward women in management. (Garland, Hale, & Brunson, 1982, p. 161)

Berryman-Fink and Wheeless' (1984) examination of the relationship among attitudes toward women in general, attitudes toward women as managers, and perceptions of their managerial ability demonstrated that men and women do differ in their attitudes toward women managers. These results indicated that female respondents reported more positive attitudes toward women as managers than did male respondents. Further, Berryman-Fink and Wheeless found that those subjects who had worked with or for a woman manager had more positive attitudes toward women in management than did subjects without work experience with women managers. Such a conclusion suggested that:

> any employees' negative attitudes toward women managers could be reduced by having those employees work with or for a woman manager in the organization. Such a finding implies that as more women become managers, attitudes toward them in such a role may become more positive. (Berryman-Fink & Wheeless, 1984, p. 16)

Although the negative evaluation of women as leaders was still reported in the 1980s there was evidence that unveiled a more positive view of women as leaders. Eagly, Mladinic, and Otto's (1991) research affirmed that respondents' evaluations of women were more positive than their evaluations of men. Unlike earlier studies on evaluation of women as leaders, gender biases in assessment of women was not reported by Eagly et al. (1991). These authors' attitudinal data indicated that both male and female respondents evaluated women more favorably than men. The positive attitude toward women in leadership was also reported by Tibbetts in 1980. Contrary to popular thinking, women were actually viewed by both male and female respondents as equally capable or superior to men.

Tibbetts (1980) argued that women were as gifted as men or superior to men in a number of areas in educational administration: (a) student-teacher performance was found to be of higher quality than in schools managed by men, (b) both teacher and student morale was better in schools headed by women, adding that the self-image and career aspirations of female students, especially, were higher, (c) women surpassed men in ability to work with others (specially teachers and the community), (d) women used democratic practices in their leadership; (e) parents preferred women to men in executing discipline in the school, and (f) women had longer periods of time than did men in teaching prior to becoming administrators. This extensive experience prior to appointment to a position of authority helped them to become adapted to the system.

The superiority of women as leaders in certain areas of education management continues to dominate research findings of the 1990s. For example, Whitaker and Hein (1991) found that principals perceived women's capabilities to be greater than men's. While the sex of the principal was reported as having an influence on the perceived capabilities of individuals, women were ranked higher than men on specific items commonly associated with stereotyped attitudes. However, female principals rated women's proficiency much higher than men's, while male principals rated men's and women's capabilities more evenly. Whitaker and Hein concluded that male principals may have been making a conscious attempt at non-discriminatory behavior, whereas the female principals may have been describing the strong degree to which they felt women demonstrated administrative capabilities. A year later, Eagly, Karau, and Johnson (1992) found that, in general, female principals scored somewhat higher than did male principals on measures of task-oriented style, but there was less documentation for a sex difference on measures of interpersonally-oriented style. The tendency to lead democratically or autocratically produced the largest sex difference, with female principals adopting a more democratic or participative style and a less autocratic or directive style than did male principals.

Since most research studies on attitudes of respondents toward women have suffered methodological deficiencies they yielded contradictory findings. A majority of these studies tended to only delineate respondents' responses than in-depth investigation of the congruity of the respondents' beliefs and behaviors (Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1991) regarding women leaders. Eagly, Mladinic, and Otto (1991) attributed the conflicting views on evaluation of women as leaders to the methodological flaws of some of the studies. For example, researchers either created or adopted an instrument that contained masculine or feminine traits and then asked subjects to respond to the attributes prescribed by the researcher. This prescriptive approach used by most researchers was limiting in the sense that respondents were limited to those traits given by the researcher. Another major limitation was that researchers found themselves caught up in a vicious circle of reflecting the common views of the dominant society. These views are usually susceptible to the prejudices the mainstream society upholds about other groups or dominated groups.

Gender bias in the evaluation of women in male-dominated occupational roles seemed to dominate most attitudinal studies and also formed the core of attribution theory. Although it is universally accepted that reward is based on merit, literature on gender and evaluation of leaders is replete with examples of prejudice against women, especially in considering them for promotion to a leadership position. Contrary, to the devaluation theory, L'Heureux-Barrett and Barnes-Farrell's (1989) study found that ability-attribution for success by the female manager "did not significantly predict bias against her in reward allocation" (pp. 136-7). Interestingly, prejudice against women in L'Heureux-Barrett and Barnes-Farrell's study was by female respondents only. This finding contradicted the belief that the sex of the evaluator may also determine their reward allocation. While previous studies have alluded to the negative attitude of males toward female managers L'Heureux-Barrett and Barnes-Farrell's study suggested that:

> Females, not males, were largely responsible for the treatment discrimination evidenced against the female manager. Why did female evaluators distribute rewards

> less often to the female manager than to the male managers? Female evaluators may have attempted to appear objective by not giving preferential treatment to a member of the same sex. It may be the case that differences in reward allocation behavior by male and female evaluators reflected a tendency to respond in a socially desirable manner. (p. 137)

Most of the studies on women and administration point to the steady increase in the number of women participating in leadership positions. Among these studies (Berryman-Fink & Wheeless, 1984) are those that noted the impact of this increase or lack of it in changing people's views of the gender stereotyping and gender roles, especially in educational administration. However, current literature (Shakeshaft, 1987) on women and administration explored the continued entrenchment of the traditional belief systems and cultural models about gender role differentiation and attitudes that influence the gender inequalities in education leadership. Occasionally, these attitudes toward gender roles are seen as the determinant of people's level of participation in certain social activities and occupational roles.

What was evident in the literature was that although women's roles have changed dramatically over the last century this has not resulted in widespread acceptance of women in educational administration. Current demographic trends in the labor force in Botswana indicate that more educated women are finding their way into the career clusters traditionally dominated by men. Yet, most of the traditional, conservative beliefs about gender differences, occupational roles, and attitudes toward women in traditionally male-dominated fields still dominate the research findings (Brown, 1980; Kann, 1981; Duncan, 1989) on gender and education of boys and girls and women's role in development in Botswana. Studies conducted elsewhere reported (Nixon, 1975; Tinsley, 1985; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992) that negative attitudes toward women's capabilities in administration remained entrenched in the traditions and practices of most societies, institutions, and organizations despite the demographic changes in the labor force and participation in leadership.

Literature from different parts of the world (Nixon, 1975; Berryman-Fink & Wheeless, 1984; Tinsley, 1985; Shakeshaft, 1987; Dagg & Thompson, 1988; Fandt, Lewis, & Sutton, 1990; Eagly, Karau, & Johnson, 1992; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992), especially western societies, documented a negative attitude of society toward women's ability to perform administrative responsibilities. For instance, in a study on women administrators and women teachers, Nixon (1975) noted that:

> Although the number of women employed in the labor force is increasing and the number of married women is increasing rapidly, this has not resulted in an ideological acceptance of their role in the world of work. (p. 7)

Oskamp (1977) contended that:

> inter group contact under the right conditions can ameliorate such prejudice, especially when cooperative efforts toward common goals are required by circumstances. (p. 132)

Further, results of research studies and literature on women in educational administration revealed that despite the increase in the number of women in positions of authority and leadership in education, preferences for males in positions of authority appear to continue today (Terborg, Peters, Ilgen, & Smith, 1977; Powell, 1980; Shakeshaft, 1987; Dagg & Thompson, 1988; Fandt, Lewis, & Sutton, 1990; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). This suggests that while women continue to occupy positions of responsibility that have traditionally been domains for men, attitudes about their capability in running an organization remain largely unchanged. As Nixon (1975) aptly put it:

> More than formal regulations, of which there are relatively few instances, it is traditional attitudes about the kinds of work that women can or should do that restrict the occupational alternatives open to women. (p.7)

Women's leadership style and personnel selection. While the hostile environment has been blamed by some writers for influencing low participation of women in leadership roles, there is evidence attributing gender differentials in administration to other factors such as biases in selection and expectations of the selection board members. Board members usually have their expectations of a leader and any failure to fit into their

prescribed characteristics of a leader may militate against a candidate's chance of being chosen for promotion. Although there was not substantial information on whether leadership style has a bearing on the selection of individuals for a principalship, there were some speculations insinuating the possible influence of leadership style on people's expectations of the leader. For example, Eagly, Karau, and Johnson (1992) intimated that:

> It is possible that people's expectations that women would administer schools differently from men may account in part for women's relatively sparse representation in the principal roles, regardless of the extent to which these expectations are based on actual sex differences in leadership style. People's beliefs that a female principal would proceed differently from a male principal may cause them to hesitate to choose a woman, perhaps because of uncertainty about how a school would fare with a principal who uses a less familiar style. (p. 95)

It is interesting to note that differences in expectations have influenced leadership styles thus contributing to the differences in the evaluation of men and women in their performance at work. Although the evidence on employers' attitudes toward women is scanty, it would be interesting to find out to what extent these traditional attitudes influence employers' decisions on whom to hire for a particular position in the organization. This also reflects the effects of women's under-representation and the role played by attitudes toward women in leadership in general. In a comparative study of male and female administrators in both the United States of America and Singapore, Bolman and Deal (1992) found that on the whole men and women in comparable jobs were not very different from each other aside from the fact that women tended to be rated slightly higher than men on most variables. In addition, Bolman and Deal reported that the under-representation of women in school administration was not a function of their inability to do the job. Their conclusion was that comparable performance may not yield analogous results because of subtle differences in what is expected of men and women. These expectations reflect the role socialization of both men and women in society.

Stereotypic occupational socialization runs counter to all attempts to bring about equal participation of men and women in the labor force, especially in leadership roles. The

differential socialization of men and women leads to different behaviors and attitudes about certain occupational activities. Men are expected to be competitive, aggressive, assertive, independent, and authoritative, women, on the other hand, are conditioned to be passive, submissive, conform, dependent, and less assertive, especially when men are present. Yet, traditional leadership in most organizations and/or education institutions requires independence and assertiveness as key traits for success in position of authority. These gender differential behaviors have been reported mainly in studies examining classroom interaction. For example, Sarah (1980) investigated some of the interaction that goes on in mixed and single-sex schools, citing literature that documented that "girls are also more likely to be encouraged to do well academically, while in mixed schools it is harder for girls to view their futures in academic terms in the face of, and in the presence of boys" (p. 158). Any deviation from the established norm may be evaluated negatively by other members of society or organization. Shultz (1986) noted that women were:

> Socialized to be pleasant, to smile, and to be accommodating; yet, if they are selected as leaders and to be influential, they will need to articulate more forcefully and to be more argumentative in their presentation of issues. If they follow the latter course, however, they may be perceived as violating societal expectations. (p. 375)

Men and women also view the concept of authority differently (Conner & Sharp, 1992), thus the differences in leadership styles. Power sharing is the key in women's leadership while men see power as a tool for domination, subjugation, and control. This difference in perception of power has a bearing on the style of leadership men and women adopt. Conner and Sharp noted that although male and female administrators execute many of the same tasks in carrying out their work, they tend to emphasize different aspects of the job. Frequently, women stress relationships while men concern themselves mainly with task accomplishment. Other writers have reported that women administrators were prone to interacting more frequently than men (Shakeshaft, 1987; Conner & Sharp, 1992; Eagly, Karau, & Johnson, 1992; Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1992) with teachers, students, parents, professional colleagues, and subordinates.

> Whereas women concentrate on instructional leadership, men more often emphasize organizational matters. The exclusive predisposition toward either orientation has serious implications for the achievement of educational goals. There can be no doubt that both instructional and organizational concerns must be addressed in the restructuring of schools. (Conner & Sharp, 1992, p. 338)

Conner and Sharp (1992) viewed the existing structure of schools in which women teach and men manage as responsible for sustaining the stereotypical role models of both sexes for children and adults in schools. Apart from presenting men and women in a variety of roles schools need to provide learners with opportunities to fulfill their developmental needs. Conner and Sharp (1992) proposed that the "culture that we envision for restructured schools must take into account the experiences and values of both women and men" (p. 339).

What this suggests for administration is that organizations should aim at creating work environments that would be conducive for both male and female leadership styles. The way in which organizations have operated and evaluated performance of male and female leaders has been based on norms and characteristics prescribed by a male-dominated organizational system. As pointed out by Shakeshaft (1987) on women in administration, the male competitive model of leadership is not conducive for women's style of leadership. Women's leadership style and their feminine traits are not congruent with the hierarchical, paternalistic establishment of most traditional organizational structures. Women were reported to be more collaborative and democratic in their approach to administration than were men (Rogers, 1988; Eagly, Karau, & Johnson, 1992).

Eagly, Karau, and Johnson (1992) meta-analytic method on gender and leadership style among school principals concluded that the most substantial sex difference was the tendency for female principals to lead in a more democratic and less autocratic style than did male principals. According to Eagly, Karau et al. (1992) this suggested that women who occupy the principal role are more likely than men to treat teachers and other organizational subordinates as colleagues and equals and to invite their participation in

decision-making. On the contrary, men evidently adopted a less collaborative approach to leadership and were relatively more dominating and directive than were women. Female principals were more task-oriented than were male principals. This was seen by Eagly, Karau et al. (1992) as suggesting that female principals were somewhat more concerned about organizing school activities to carry out necessary tasks and to reach explicit goals. Shakeshaft (1987) contended that the collaborative approach to decision-making may cause women to be initially evaluated as weak or ineffective. This may be because their collaborative system of administration contravenes the laws of competition which stress individualism and personal achievement at the expense of community efforts.

A comparative examination of the dramatic differences in administration styles of men and women reveals fundamental differences in approach and world outlook of both groups. While there are a number of similarities in their expectations and goals there seem to be reasons for different actions or styles when it comes to administration. As clearly suggested by Shakeshaft (1987):

> It appears that, for a number of reasons, women possess characteristics that are conducive to good schooling. Women enter teaching with clear educational goals, supported by a value system that stresses service, caring, and relationships. Women are focused on instructional and educational issues and have demonstrated that, when in charge, they are likely to build a school community that stresses achievement within a supportive atmosphere. (p. 200)

The literature comparing leadership styles of men and women indicated that there are major differences in the way in which male and female administrators communicate. While women are viewed as having better communication skills for the achievement of instructional goals, men, on the other hand, tend to focus on discipline and maintaining order at the expense of learning. Shakeshaft (1987) maintained the view that "women's communication and decision-making styles stress cooperation and help to facilitate a translation of the educational visions into actions" (p. 200), and demonstrate behaviors that

promote achievement and learning. In addition, they monitor and intervene more than do men.

Contrary to the top-down competitive model of leadership new education trends and problems call for a participative approach wherein the leader would solicit the involvement of his/her staff in the decision-making processes of the school organization. The new conditions in education create demands for a decentralized education system "in which instructional issues and shared leadership by teachers and administrators are emphasized" (Pounder, 1990, p. 8). Such a departure from the traditional and institutionalized paternalistic organizational management calls for a re-examination and re-definition of the role of the administrator. There is a need for a new definition that presents gender neutral images of the role of an administrator, i.e., neither masculine nor feminine in character. What this suggests is that the definition of administrator should encompass both masculine and feminine terms. As Pounder (1990) observed:

> School administrators have been stereotypically characterized by word images and descriptors such as "strong," "in control," or "powerful"---it is not surprising that female stereotypes do not match administrative job stereotypes. As a result of the incongruence between administrator role "images" and female "images," women may not be selected for some administrative positions because they simply "do not look like an administrator." (p. 6)

Literature on sex-role and leadership revealed that "because the traditional stereotype of school administrators is not consistent with traditional female stereotypes, women are less likely to be selected for school administrative positions" (Pounder, 1990, p. 5). A number of studies on women in leadership have attributed gender inequality in leadership to sex-role stereotyping. Generally, sex-role stereotyping was reported as having a major influence on the perceptions and attitudes of individuals or groups regarding the behaviors and expectations of males and females in performing certain social and occupational roles.

Perceptual studies and literature on gender and evaluation of leaders reported that the devaluation of women was based on the assumption that women's and men's behaviors and that their way of doing things are the same. Shakeshaft (1987) challenged this assumption when asserting that:

> If women and men were the same, if they behaved in similar ways, then leaving women out of the formulation of theory wouldn't be a problem. However, we have seen that the history of women and men in school administration differs, as do their career paths. Further, the profiles of women and men administrators vary in important ways. (p. 163)

Undoubtedly, these differences influence the style of leadership each one of these groups would adopt. While administration in schools has always been perceived in terms of enforcing discipline and maintaining order (a military perspective of leadership), women have been reported in the literature as more collaborative or participative in their approach to leadership.

The participative norm is relatively new and alien to traditional leadership styles of running schools. The head of a school had to be like a colossus, whose presence was felt by both students and staff. His/her "macho" personality suggested his/her power and ability in keeping order in the school. S/he was like an army general who gave orders which were not to be challenged or discussed by subordinates. Any failure to wield this power meant failure as an administrator. Women had to choose between changing their behaviors to adopt the men's management styles to suit this established organizational power structure designed and dominated by men or suffer the consequences of deviating from the male-centered behavioral norm. To deviate from the norm meant failure resulting in negative evaluation of women in administration. Behaving and acting like men also meant a rejection of self, and an adoption of male qualities. Invariably, feminine traits and behaviors were devalued in traditional leadership structures. Therefore, the "machonization" of authority led to the exclusion of most women who sought to remain feminine.

"Demachonization" of administration therefore would mean a new understanding of authority. This would suggest re-definition of authority and power that required tapping from both masculine and feminine traits, behaviors, and experiences. Noddings (1992) observed that "the male experience is the standard not only in education but, more generally, in all of public policy" (p. 65). Noddings strongly believed that there was need to change the culture of schools and the curriculum to reflect both women's and men's perspectives. As the number of women continues to increase in administration there seems to be a need to re-define the role of administrator to reflect qualities of both males and females.

Positions of responsibility have traditionally been perceived as "masculine" and, therefore, a domain and preserve for men in Botswana's social relations. Although there still exists some disagreement on the nature and character of administration today management studies revealed that this field is defined largely in masculine terms (Pounder, 1990). This belief about administration suggests that those who possess masculine qualities are likely to be rated higher than those who do not. Popular thinking on personnel selection practices in the literature on evaluation of women as leaders was that females were less likely to be selected for occupational roles that were stereotypically perceived as traditionally for males. Pounder (1990), for example, noted that regardless of gender, those who apply for occupational roles that are stereotypically incongruent with their sex are often given lower evaluation ratings. Pounder's conclusion was that:

> In stereotypically male occupations such as educational administration, women (and to an even greater degree, attractive women) may have difficulty securing administrative positions. (pp.5-6)

In sum, what the literature from elsewhere seemed to suggest was that the increase in women administrators in Botswana may not necessarily indicate that women are accepted as being as competent as their male counterparts. This was clearly reflected in the proceedings of the debate on democracy in Botswana in 1989. Although this report

documented deliberations on the political situation in Botswana, its allusion to gender inequalities in the political sphere, especially presentations by Molutsi, Mokama, Nengwekhulu, and Holm during the debate on democracy in 1989 shed light on the problem in other areas of concern where statistics still show some major inequalities. For example, gender was reported as a major factor in determining participation of people in leadership positions of the political parties in Botswana.

Hiring and promotional practices in male-dominated organizations. Studies on sex-discrimination showed that men still dominate most of the top positions of responsibility despite the popular rhetoric about equal opportunities. State and federal governments in the United states of America and governments in other western nations, for example, have enacted laws forbidding discrimination on the basis of race and sex in an attempt to eliminate these barriers, but very little seems to have changed except at superficial levels. Executive Order 11246 in United States of America is a good example, forbidding any discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. According to the Order, all applicants should receive full consideration for all positions based solely upon the applicant's qualifications. Johnson and Hutchison (1990) noted that despite Order 11246, academic institutions have made little apparent progress in increasing the number of women who hold leadership positions in the world of academia. The lack of significant progress in changing the status of women in spite of the introduction of non-discriminatory laws or repealing those that are perceived as hindering women from advancing point to the need to address all the factors that contribute to gender inequality in administration. This also indicates the importance of investigating the strategies used to redress the problem of gender inequality in leadership. Organizations and governments should aim at re-examining the values, beliefs, and attitudes that influence their hiring, screening, interviewing, selection, and rejection practices.

It is quite evident from recent studies on women in academia (Spender, 1980; Tibbetts, 1980; Taylor, 1989; Cullivan, 1990; Grant & Martin, 1990; Johnson & Hutchsion, 1990; Porat, 1991; Whitaker & Hein, 1991) that despite an increase in the number of women qualifying for leadership positions, the centers for higher learning or academic institutions still remain bastions of male power and privilege. Swoboda and Vanderbosch (1983) described a woman administrator in academia as an anomaly. A woman administrator was:

> met with a system of values and code of behaviors designed to accommodate and perpetuate its masculine character. The myths surrounding her gender soon become countervailing forces against the fact of her position: a woman president, dean, or chancellor is seen first as a woman, and belatedly as an administrator. (p.1)

Swoboda and Vanderbosch argued that the dilemma that faced every woman as administrator was to curtail the disharmony between her gender and her status; pointing out that:

> As misfits within the closely ordered and male-dominated structure of the academy, a woman has had basically two options available to her: she could live her womanliness up or she could live it down. (p. 1)

In a paper presented at the Southern Regional Council on Educational Administration Conference in Atlanta, Georgia, Grant and Martin (1990) reported that many female subjects cited sex-discrimination and preferential hiring and promotion as significantly affecting their career advancement. The data gathered from phone interviews corroborated their reports, indicating that:

> Employers' negative attitudes against females: sex-role stereotyping of females; and women's lack of influential sponsors and professional network were all reported as major roadblocks to administrative employment. (p.14)

Most significantly, the literature on sex-discrimination seemed to associate gender imbalance in educational institutions with the selection practices of these institutions. Although most of the research focused on establishing possible explanations of gender inequality researchers adopted research methodologies that played down the broader

approach to investigating factors influencing the low participation of women in leadership. They also viewed under-representation of women as exclusive of other social inequalities of the patriarchal social order. Gender inequality, therefore, should not be studied in isolation. It should be linked with class, economic and social status, and cultural practices of a particular historical epoch.

A Mexican study conducted by Cortina (1989) indicated a contrast to the popular view found in many studies about gender disparity in education administration. According to the 1980-1981 population census in Mexico women represented 60% of the 3,792 school principals. However, Cortina observed that the higher proportion of women among school principals did not necessarily mean that women controlled the decision-making process within schools because the educational system in Mexico was highly centralized and hierarchically structured. As observed by a number of researchers, centralized and hierarchical organizational structure might create difficulty for most women because women administrators tend to lack a commitment to hierarchically structured systems of administration.

Women have been described in the literature on gender and leadership (Shakeshaft, 1987; Conner & Sharp, 1992; Eagly, Karau, & Johnson, 1992; Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1992) as collaborative in their approach to running an organization. Cortina (1989) concluded that the higher participation of women in administration was closely related to differential training opportunities that women and men had at the postsecondary level. Gender, according to Cortina, acted as a barrier restricting both the educational and occupational opportunities open to women in Mexico. Cortina observed that this barrier, created by gender as a result of the absence of governmental policy to promote the proportional entrance of women at the postsecondary level, shaped their professional career choices, and then limited their participation in power and decision-making positions. Cortina also concluded that family responsibilities reinforced women's unequal access to professional life.

Status and experiences of women in male-dominated organizations. Some studies that investigated factors influencing lack of full participation of women in certain occupational roles revealed that pioneer women suffered the effects of exclusion and isolation in most male-dominated organizations. Despite all the demographic changes in the labor force, especially in male-dominated careers, women were still not welcome in most of these "male domains" (Unger, 1982). The negative atmosphere that prevailed in most organizations was reported in some studies as a major factor in influencing the behaviors and attitudes of working and professional women. Some writers on women and educational administration have postulated the impact of the organizational climate on the strategies women adopt in managing the organization. Operating in a hostile male-dominated organization, a woman is likely to respond to this negative atmosphere by adopting behaviors and attitudes that might be evaluated negatively by her subordinates, especially males. A woman working under hostile conditions is likely to be too cautious and engage in excessive self-criticism.

A study conducted by Estes (1989) described the experiences of women in university leadership positions. Estes pointed out that conventional expectations about gender roles have left many women in leadership positions feeling vulnerable. Estes asserted that many women reported the existence of the "lone women syndrome," especially if they were the first women in the faculty. This vulnerability of the few women that make it to the top was stressed by Shakeshaft (1987) when asserting that "token status and sexist attitudes toward women combine to create a world in which the woman administrator is always on display and always vulnerable to attack" (p. 198). According to Estes (1989), a woman could be called upon to represent the women's voice in many inordinate committees, rather than viewing her as an individual who has the interest and abilities in that particular field.

Another problem noted by Estes (1989) was that the women administrator's male colleagues frequently focused on women's appearances rather than their accomplishments, a reflection of social expectations of a woman as adornment. This conception about women was alluded to in an earlier study by Yogev (1983) who observed that women were perceived as sexual objects and servants, hence the emphasis on their physical attractiveness and qualities such as nurturing, caretaking, and nursing. To take a forceful or firm stand on administrative issues was regarded as a female character flaw (Estes, 1989). Estes noted that if women work together on a project they were often accused of plotting against men or being lesbians, while collaborating with men would generate rumors that they were romantically or sexually involved with co-workers. All of this forms one of the paradoxes faced by women who make it to the top of the managerial ladder.

Although researchers differed on the definition of and views about "token women," there seemed to be some agreement on the experiences women have when they are recruited into organizations or occupational roles dominated by men. Often these women are made to feel they don't belong. They are viewed as merely representatives of women rather than individuals who have the ability and capacity to occupy a traditionally male-dominated occupational role. Some writers have noted that as a gender minority group in an organization, these women become symbols of women and are expected to exhibit the behaviors, beliefs and attitudes of women. Young, MacKenzie, and Sherif (1982) observed that these women were selected solely in order for the organization to have some symbols of the class these women represented. These women were also faced with the dilemma of isolation or face perpetual subjection to scrutiny and negative criticism. Shakeshaft (1987) conceived that:

> Being a token means that women are always on stage, a condition that adds stress to already stressful jobs. How can we diagnose the climate of a school if we fail to include in that description the ways that a particular group of people -- that is, women -- are treated? Climate descriptions need to incorporate the day-to-day lives

> of women that men seldom experience -- sexual harassment, subtle forms of discrimination, and lowered expectations. (p. 205)

Notwithstanding the contributions made by researchers on token status of women, in most conservative organizations there is a need for more research on the experiences of "token women." Some studies (Yogev, 1983) on experiences of professional women hinted at some of the limitations in the methodologies used in studying the status and experiences of token women. Most of these studies tended to be exploratory, failing to examine in depth some of the underlying values, beliefs, and attitudes of society toward women in leadership. Some of the flaws in these studies were a result of the biases created by the researchers' ideological orientation and political clout. This ideological and political perspective influenced the selection of items to be included in the research instruments and the type of question the research asked (Yogev, 1983). Another criticism levelled against these studies by critiques of tokenism pertains to their use of measures that may be lacking consistency and efficacy. To minimize some of these limitations on the experiences of professional women longitudinal studies should be used to provide some alternative data and also to establish consistency in the behaviors exhibited by these women within organizations dominated by men.

While women who are already in higher positions were reported as facing sexist attitudes by males, those who aspire to these positions of authority face even greater difficulties. These difficulties are compounded by the fact that some women "who have achieved high status positions tend to view other women as competitors and tend to possess negative attitudes toward these women" (Terborg, Peters, Ilgen, & Smith, 1977, p. 100). This attitude has been referred to by some researchers as the "queen bee syndrome." However, Terborg et al. (1977) also found that women with high levels of education have the most favorable attitudes toward women as managers. Brenton (1989) described a "queen bee" as a woman who has succeeded professionally (i.e., salary, popularity with men, attractiveness, and good marriage):

> She "looks like a woman" but "thinks like a man" and is able to perform a traditional and non-traditional role simultaneously but effectively. The queen bees in higher education are in excellent positions to recruit, support, and recommend other women but are not inclined to do so. Instead the queen bee prefers to denigrate the efforts of other women and protect her own image of superwoman. (p. 21)

The lack of support from other women has been viewed by some writers on under-representation of women in educational administration as a setback for the advancement of women. Andreadris (1983) pointed out that:

> In all these instances of women's failure to bond with each other, we see their failure to trust each other's support and good will; we see their deference to male authority and the established system of hierarchy; and we see their perpetuation of the system of tokenism. The dilemma of isolation and failure to bond in situations where it is important to do so can be resolved only if we undermine the structure of rivalrous relations by mentoring other women in such a way as to erode the present competitive model for professional relations. (p. 15)

Concomitant with this lack of support is a hostility and/or rivalry among women. Sully (1991) felt that it was the "women's squabble" that put the cause for women back. According to Sully opposition for the woman in leadership "came less from the male-dominated faculty but from her own female colleagues in the department leading to an interminable 'woman's squabble' " (p. 9).

The dialectics of women's struggle for change of their work environment and fight for equal access to leadership positions has mainly resulted in debates within the women's movement. This may be a reflection of the diversity and complexity of women's experiences that characterize women as a social entity. As pointed out by Estes (1989) the internal debates about womanhood in women's studies "is that <u>woman</u> is not a unitary experience but a rich conceptual possibility--complex, many-cultured, as varied and ever-changing as life itself" (p. 37). To understand this experience practitioners must study these complex, multifaceted life experiences of women because failure to do so may lead to prejudice in our selection processes for individuals for higher positions of authority and continued relegation of women to subservient and servile positions in society and the corporate world.

Personal Motivational Factors and Contradictory Gender Expectations

Career and family role-conflict. In the late 1970s and onwards a number of studies on professional women (Nixon, 1975; Andreadris, 1983; Dublon, 1983; Gray, 1983; Tipping and Farmer, 1991) reported that a majority of educated working and professional women were faced with a dilemma of trying to balance their career and family lives. These women grappled with the problems of coping with divergent roles. Researchers found that with some women commitment to career goals and attending to family roles caused psychological strain and personality conflict. Nixon (1975) had this to say about a married working woman: "struggling between traditional stereotypes and uncertain new choices, modern woman is facing an identity crisis" (p.7). Andreadris (1983) noted that "most married, academic women struggle with an inner conflict between their professional responsibilities and society's traditional stereotype of the 'feminine' and 'domestic' woman"(p. 20). Although overt discrimination against women has received the greatest attention among obstacles to advancement in higher education, the dilemma of trying to combine marriage, family and career may be the more pervasive deterrent to women's career goals. Dublon (1983) argued that the highly educated woman administrator was currently facing the post-legislative dilemma of trying to balance her career and family responsibilities and devised strategies by which conflicts between the various roles could be resolved.

Yet, other studies on working and professional women (Gray, 1983; Yogev, 1983; L'Heureux-Barrett, & Barnes-Farrett, 1991) reported contradictory results on the psychological and personality conflicts experienced by most career women. Yogev (1983) attributed the existence of different viewpoints in the literature on role conflict to two main factors: (a) change in beliefs about sex-role stereotypes and women's role in society due to scientific and technological changes that took place over the last two decades, and (b) the dominant ideological position of a particular political, historical, and cultural context.

The dominant thinking of the early writers reflected a predominance of negative experiences and personality crises of career women while the view of the late 1980s and 1990s seemed to be more positive. Yogev (1983) reported that the research findings of the 1960s suggested that women experienced conflict between work and family roles. According to role-conflict theory, the clash between participation in the family and occupational roles was perceived as responsible for some psychological disturbances and ambivalence among professional women. The two roles were seen as contradictory. Occupational roles were generally considered masculine by society while family activities were considered feminine. The dilemma faced by most career women was that they either remained feminine or had to forgo their femininity and adopt qualities prescribed for the occupational role. Yogev (1983) intimated that "career women were thus viewed as the antithesis of feminine women and were thought of as failures as women or as having personality disturbances" (p. 220).

Current research findings showed a shift in the viewpoints regarding the experiences of women who combined careers with family roles. The contemporary view reflected less emphasis on role-conflict. These studies reported little or no conflict for women who combined career and family responsibilities. The changing attitudes toward the traditional roles of men and women were reported in a number of studies (Gray, 1983; Yogev, 1983; Murrell, Frieze & Frost, 1991) as reducing role conflict. For example, Murrell, Frieze, and Frost (1991) found that women who planned careers in male-dominated occupational roles had higher career and educational aspirations than did women who wanted careers in female-dominated occupations. Such findings indicated that career aspirations of women were likely to differ depending on their career role orientations. In addition, the findings revealed that some women perceived less conflict between career and family roles, thus their desire to participate in traditionally male-dominated occupational roles.

Other studies on personality of professional women have found that the shift in viewpoints regarding the role-conflict between family and work could also be explained in

the context of changes in attitudes toward roles and new strategies on how to cope with role-conflicts. In a study involving a group of 232 married women doctors, lawyers, and professors, Gray (1983) found that most respondents reported that they experienced conflict between the roles, while close to half of them indicated that it was impossible to rank the relative importance of their family and career roles. What seemed to emerge in recent studies (Dublon, 1983; Gray,1983) was that new coping strategies devised by most women were used to alleviate the discord brought about by combining family and career roles. These strategies included soliciting support from other family members to help with family responsibilities. Gray (1983) noted that most women tried to avoid limitations on their professional involvement in numerous ways:

> Most had hired outside help to assist them with chores, most shared responsibility for household tasks with family members, and 14% were considering not having children. A number of the women even managed to avoid geographic limitations by living apart from their families temporarily or commuting long distances in order to pursue their careers. (p. 245)

Gray (1983) contended that there was need for developing effective coping strategies if women hoped to be successful in combining the demands of a career and family. The advise she gave for any career woman was that she:

> must accept the fact that she cannot do everything well, realize that she will need both emotional support and help with chores, and learn how to manage her time effectively so that she will have time to pursue any important personal interests. She should spend some time thinking about role strains that might arise within her own unique situation and develop some flexible strategies for dealing with potential conflicts. (p. 242)

In 1983 Dublon's study reported similar findings about the way working married women resolved the role conflict problem. However, Dublon found that respondents who were married or who planned to be married cited a supportive husband as the reason marriage would enhance or have no effect on their career advancement. Like most studies on the same subject, geographical mobility was the limitation cited most frequently by respondents. In addition, those women who planned on remaining single also viewed their

marital status as either enhancing or having no effect on career advancement because of the perceived flexibility which accompanied their status. A supportive family was the reason most frequently quoted for enhancing advancement among women who had or expected to have children, while less flexibility was seen as a constraint attributed to raising a family and participating in career roles. The largest percentage of those who anticipated conflicts were of the opinion that time constraints and problems involved in balancing multiple roles contributed to role-conflict.

Carey (1990) asserted that family life affected work behavior. Furthermore, it influenced women's choices of jobs and how women behaved on the job. It is universally believed that occupational responsibilities put a strain on relationships in the family. This intrusion of work roles on family life would manifest itself, especially when the woman "is not available to the family because of work demands, the real possibility for marital discord exists because she is perceived as having abandoned her female responsibilities as homemaker and hearthkeeper" (Carey, 1990, p. 16). Carey identified a number of factors that determined the extent to which occupational and family roles conflict: (a) the nature of the woman's involvement in each role, (b) her family structure (its events, stages, and conditions), and (c) her occupational level and attendant responsibilities.

While there has been emphasis on the time constraints and workload as responsible for role-conflict among women there was also considerable evidence attesting to the psychological state in which working women find themselves due to home-career conflict. These "women find themselves facing conflicting life situations" (Tipping & Farmer, 1991, p. 111). Tipping and Farmer (1991) provided new data linking home-career conflict with attitudes of significant others. These researchers alleged that:

> Women planning to combine home and work roles seem to be in a conflict situation because of internalized conflicting societal expectations for these roles. These women are particularly vulnerable to the perceived criticisms of significant others in their lives, who unknowingly may contribute to their home-career conflict. (p. 117)

As suggested by Dublon (1983), a re-definition of expectations would result in reduction of conflicts. Dublon observed that a person would not have to expend energy in performing under the strain of too many competing roles. In addition, highly educated women would therefore focus on changing the expectations held by others so that fewer conflicting demands would be placed upon them.

While role-conflict was a popular subject by most researchers on career versus family roles, it has not been sufficiently explored in the literature on gender and administration. Frequently, studies on professional women succinctly described the nature of discord created by multiple roles of women. Villadsen and Tack (1981) observed that women who held policy-making positions in higher education generally were required by society to be model mothers and spouses, concerned citizens involved in civic activities, good teachers, authors of renown, and exceptional managers. None of these expectations of society seemed to apply to men. It seems that women more than men are expected to operate according to the dictates of the traditional laws of society. The cultural structures of most patriarchal gender systems have maintained the relegation of women to the position of caring for and nursing children whilst men are elevated to that of the economic provider and protector of the family (Renzetti & Curran, 1989). These positions for men and women in a patriarchal society represent the engendered experiences that determine the status of men and women, and the inherent social and power relations of such a social order. These experiences form the core of the social constructions that governs behaviors, beliefs, and actions thus creating cognate role distinction practices observed by members of society.

It is not enough just to train women for administrative positions without restructuring organizations within society, and changing the attitudes that sustained the existing andocentric view of the world. The need to change the organizational context in which women work was seen as the key in addressing women's problem of harmonizing

personal and professional life (Shakeshaft, 1987). Shakeshaft suggested that balancing the personal and professional life of working women requires:

> providing support systems and networks for women, offering consciousness-raising groups that allow women to analyze culture, teaching women the male world, altering structure of traditional professional education organization while developing ones specifically to meet needs of women. (p.135)

Lamentably, scholars and practitioners alike have emphasized the provision of activities geared toward changing women and the organizational structures without addressing the underlying causes of gender inequality in society. They have ignored the very fact that organizations and individuals are microcosms of a larger society within which they operate. This means that organizations and individuals reflect, to a larger extent, the values, practices, and structures in society that act as barriers for women's advancement in the professional and corporate world. To change the status quo of gender inequality requires change-agents to strive toward changing the values and ethos, beliefs, and practices of all the political, social, and cultural structures of society. Practitioners should aim at influencing the attitudes of individuals and society at large.

While there has been little emphasis on changing organizations to accommodate women in their administrative strata, some writers have focused on changing the individual rather than the entire society. This approach emanated from the assumption that the individual was the one at fault because s/he was failing to fit or adjust to the demands of the occupation. For example, Tibbetts (1985) argued that:

> It is up to the women to recognize and believe in their own worth and ability, to shake off the shackles of acculturation that have locked them into believing in their own inferiority, and to overcome the socialization process that has discouraged their self assertion, achievement, leadership, and independence, that has sapped them of their self-confidence and led them to underrate themselves. (p. 179)

Such an argument is premised on the assumption that the problem lies solely with women. In this case the focus would be on changing women instead of the socialization process or structure that created lack of self-confidence among women. While it may be true that

women should change, it would be worthless to change women's behaviors to suit male-centered leadership standards. There is a need for a holistic transformation of society and its practices to suit the upcoming changes in the corporate world. The literature prescribing coping strategies for working women reflects the conviction that by assisting women to cope with the demands of career and family responsibilities the low participation of women in occupational roles could be solved. This belief that women need to be changed was also reflected in the increase in the number of workshops, seminars, and courses for women. Surprisingly, there were no programs designed to assist the organization to change its practices and attitudes toward women as leaders.

Women's career and educational aspirations. Women in Botswana continue to be under-represented in positions of leadership in educational institutions and tend to be clustered at lower administrative levels. Statistical information indicated that women gravitate toward people-centered and traditionally female-dominated fields. Most females continue to work in four primary categories such as social work, nursing, teaching, and office work and tend to choose careers that are more easily interrupted, less demanding, and which require fewer educational prerequisites than careers chosen by males (Post-Kammer & Smith, 1986).

Although a majority of women in Botswana today work primarily in female-dominated careers, recent statistical evidence (Labour statistics, 1990/91; Education statistics, 1991) shows that more women are advancing into traditionally male-dominated fields. This positive picture of women's participation was also painted in studies conducted elsewhere in Africa and other parts of the world. For example, as early as the 1960s writers noted that women were becoming doctors, teachers, members of city committees and parliament (Castle, 1966) and judicial systems (Caldwell-Colbert & Colbert, 1989). Yet, women still trailed behind in participation in other areas such as decision-making and policy-making. Although the evidence on the differences in career aspirations of boys and

girls is still scanty, literature alludes to their inclination towards particular areas than others. What then are career aspirations of women? Are they different from those of men? Some differences in career aspirations of boys and girls in Botswana schools have been reported (Brown, 1980; Kann, 1981; Duncan, 1989). Duncan (1989) observed that traditional beliefs and practices discriminate against the education of girls, causing them to form a negative self-image and lose their self-confidence.

There are still many people today who believe that there are careers for men and those for women only. Consequent to this belief is the dominance of men in certain careers while some careers are predominantly domains for women. In Botswana schools and even institutions of higher learning, home economics or courses with domestic orientation, and nursing or certain health careers have, until recently, been viewed as fields for women. According to Brown (1980), girls tended to aspire to typical traditional female careers such as teaching, nursing, and social work. Yet, Kann (1981) found that girls in secondary schools in Botswana more often aspired to professional, administrative and clerical jobs than did boys. This finding by Kann is contrary to current thinking that girls have low occupational aspirations in fields such as those with administrative orientation. This implies that women have higher career aspirations than has always been assumed. Consistent with the foregoing assertion, there was some evidence to suggest that women differ in their career aspirations (Murrell, Frieze & Frost, 1991). Murrell, Frieze, and Frost (1991) found that women who planned careers in male-dominated fields had higher aspirations than those who planned careers in female-dominated occupational roles. Tinsley (1985) observed that women were far more likely to be assistants to, assistants or associates than directors, deans, vice-presidents, provosts, or presidents, arguing that:

> Women are more likely to be staff than line. In College and University administration, the three positions most often held by women and minorities are registrar, librarian, and director of financial aid. Research also tells us that most women administrators do "women's work" in higher education administration. (p.7)

According to Tinsley (1985), women hold position in continuing education that focus on women or re-entry women. It was evident from the literature that women have advanced to leadership positions only in institutions dealing with programs for women or in professional programs primarily for women. These programs would include, for example, nursing education, home economics, social work, and programs for children such as daycare centers. These have always been classified as women's programs (Whyte, 1986). Advances women have made in higher education in the past decade have come slowly, painfully, and grudgingly (Tinsley, 1985). Tinsley's (1985) contention was that:

> Those of us who have worked for equity have worked incrementally within existing structures to challenge conventional values and prejudices. But I believe we have significantly underestimated the degree of organizational and cultural resistance to any kind of real change. (p. 9)

The point on underestimation of the degree of organizational and cultural resistance to any kind of real change is a significant one in the case of advancement of women in educational administration. There are reports in the literature on women and administration indicating that the current status of women in organizations has remained relatively unchanged. Women have not moved into positions of power with wide success (Cullivan, 1990). In her presentation at a conference on strategies for change for women in Southern Africa, Gwendoline-Konie (1982) observed that although structures are said to be non-discriminatory, women do not find it easy to accede to high positions. She also noted that women, especially in Southern Africa, are stuck in powerless positions. Some of the suggestions she made to improve participation of women in decision-making included the sensitization of both men and women to the necessity for changing attitudes and customs which relegate women to subservient positions. She maintained that education tends to direct girls into stereotypical roles. According to Gwendoline-Konie there exists a need to decolonize and desex language, and conscientize both men and women in order to change their attitudes. The foregoing assertion has practical implications for current education systems of former colonized countries and socialization processes that go on in society and

education institutions. The curriculum material should be "exorcised" of sexist language and schools and organizations be more gender sensitive.

Shakeshaft (1987) pointed out that there is no one strategy to solve the problem of under-representation of women in leadership positions. Although legal remedies and affirmative action have contributed to alleviating gender inequality there exists an even greater need to change society's attitudes toward women. This can be summarized in Shakeshaft's (1987) words:

> No matter how qualified, how competent, or how psychologically and emotionally ready women are to assume administrative positions in schools, they are still living and working within a society that is both sexist and racist. If we are to make any lasting change, we must confront the system that is white male centered and white male dominated and change that system. Molding ourselves to be imitation men or becoming successful while the doors are closed to other women will do nothing to restructure society so that barriers cease to exist. (p. 144)

For most developing nations such as Botswana, this imbalance in leadership participation by gender represents an under-utilization of human resources and has far-reaching implications for both the decision-making and policy formulation processes. As pointed out by Nixon (1975), a nation's human resource potential depends on the participation of both male and female members of society. In addition, gender disparity in leadership contributes to the continued male-domination in organizational management and policy-making levels of the political, socioeconomic, and cultural structures of the country.

Societal Influences on Gender Representation in Educational and Occupational Roles

Sex-role stereotyping and participation of women in occupational roles. The negative stereotypic attitudes toward women's ability in leadership may have a debilitating effect on girls' attitudes toward leadership thus creating a barrier to their advancement to leadership positions. Teachers' practices and attitudes toward various groups in the classroom are powerful stimuli for inducing certain behaviors for the different members of the class. Concomitant with these practices and attitudes are the sex-role orientation for both males and females in the group. These sex-role orientation practices have, in most

cases generated fear, inferiority complex, and despair among students, especially female students participating in male-dominated fields. This has also resulted in a lot of anxiety and misgivings about the role education plays in liberating learners from servility and lack of self-confidence.

A position paper on hierarchy, power, and educational policy making written and edited by Howe, McClusky, and Wilson (1976) for the National Conference on Women in Education, Washington, DC pointed out the debilitating nature of the power relations in education institutions, concluding that these relations have adverse effects, especially on students. In their definition of power the writers suggested that power was a major element in the present educational system's inequalities toward women, "as well as a potential vehicle for vast, liberating changes for women and men" (p. 5). According to Howe and colleagues, the distinction between liberating power and a debilitating one can be determined by examining the relationship between the powerful person and the person who feels the source of that power. The major difference is that the liberating power relations would increase the self-esteem, independence, awareness, aspiration, and efficacy at some skill or valued activity while debilitating relationships would thwart the development of these invaluable qualities that affect our behaviors and participation in certain activities in society. In addition, Howe et al. (1976) observed that unfortunately:

> From preschool through graduate school, students are often influenced to act out sexually stereotyped and humanly restrictive roles. If they are female, they discover that the responses adults desire from them are designed to influence them to become mommies not managers, nurses not neurosurgeons, consumers not corporation heads, secretaries not senators. They are taught to make coffee not policy, to bake bread, not build bridges. If they are male, they are taught quite differently--to be tough, not tender. (p. 7)

The three writers concluded their discussion on the effect of power relations in education by noting that "the adults in our educational system, particularly those in positions of leadership, often exercise a debilitating power on students, stunting their aspiration, independence, self-esteem, and efficacy" (p. 7). It is therefore not surprising that women

end up in female-dominated fields while men are in careers that require masculine traits or more authority. Women remain in occupational roles that keep them at subservient positions that are congruent with society's expectations and feminine traits. Climbing the career ladder to a very high position by a woman is like crossing a barricade. Advancing to the top requires extra ordinary effort and courage to face the cultural barriers and resistance from the male culture.

There is a wide range of studies describing most women as lacking the courage to combat forces that guard this territory dominated and managed by men. In a number of studies researchers have postulated reasons for the supposed lack of confidence among most women. Some of the reasons identified by researchers were negative expectations of society regarding the performance of women in male-dominated fields. These attitudes contributed immensely to the erosion of self-confidence, decrease of autonomy, and lack of self-direction among some female students (Sprinthall & Scott, 1989).

The lack of confidence, self-direction, and extensive dependence among women conditioned them into accepting failure (Jacobs & Eccles, 1985). Marshall (1984) found that female students generally were much less likely than their male counterparts to feel confident about their preparation for and ability to do graduate work. Marshall's study concluded that there was a greater discrepancy between women's aspirations for and actual entry into graduate school than there was for men. Marshall stated that male faculty members tended to affirm male students more than female students, and often perceived female students primarily as sexual beings who were less capable and less serious than male students. Consequently, female students feel discouraged, angered, or confused by these subtle and overt verbal and non-verbal exclusion that indicates lower expectations for them. According to Marshall, male students were much more likely to be directly questioned by the professor and twice as likely to respond to a comment.

There are divergent views on the influence of gender of the professor with regards to treatment of students. Some studies (Jones, 1989; Eagly, Makhijani & Klonsky, 1992;

Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1992) indicated that treating women with a negative attitude is gender neutral, i.e., both male and female respondents exhibit the prejudiced behavior. Jones (1989) noted that regardless of gender, teachers had a negative attitude toward girls in a science class. It is evident from the literature on science and technology, however, that teachers' practices and the general classroom atmosphere plays a significant role in the participation of male and female students in class. The negative attitude toward female students seemed to discourage them from actively participating in fields that were traditionally dominated by men.

Gender role socialization at home and school. Several studies on socialization have reported that the home and school play a major role in socializing boys and girls toward or away from certain career clusters. Prendergast and Proust (1980) and Imsen (1987) argued that boys and girls actively construct their identities and futures in line with their perceived opportunities and abilities. In her study on engendering school learning in Botswana secondary schools, Duncan (1989) posited that attitudes were acquired through a complex and subtle process of socialization, mediated by, for example, the role modeling, the behavior and expectations of significant others (i.e., family members, teachers, and peers) as well as specific aspects of the socio-cultural and school environment. Duncan also noted that only one dimension of gender role ideology influenced occupational aspirations, that relating to the belief that men should be the major decision-makers. Although there are still unresolved controversies among researchers regarding the role of socialization in influencing young people in their career choices there is substantive evidence in the literature pointing to the role played by the home and school, as agents of socialization, in influencing girls away from orientation toward certain fields such as science and technology and management. As observed by Duncan, the expectations of parents and teachers play an important role in shaping educational and occupational aspirations.

Other than the school and the wider society, the home as the first environment of the child has a vital role in the development of the child's personality, attitudes, values, and interests. As a microcosm of the wider society, the home or family passes on to the child society's expectations and norms, and conditions children in their roles as members of society. The family, therefore, mirrors the society's cherished norms and ethos. In a study on science and technology, Block (1984) found that different patterns of parenting send very clear messages that act as barriers to growth of girls in these two fields. Parents were reported in the literature on socialization as playing a key role in influencing the future career orientation of their children. Undoubtedly, parental influence was seen in the literature on sex-role stereotyping as the key to influencing certain behaviors, attitudes, and overall personality of the child. In a discussion of attitude formation, Oskamp (1977) made this conclusion about parental influence on the child:

> The amount of parental influence over a young child's behaviors and attitudes is so great...comparable in its degree of control to confinement in a penal institution or a concentration camp. Parents have almost total control over the young child's information input, the behaviors demanded of the child, and the rewards and punishments meted out. Thus they have great power to shape the child's attitudes, particularly because the infant has no preexisting attitudes which would be contrary to parental influence. (p. 126)

In a discussion of sexual difference in child rearing, Silvestri (1989) pointed out that "parents have traditionally protected and sheltered girls to a greater degree, limiting and discouraging independence of the female" (p.75). Silvestri argued that parents usually expect boys to be more independent and to explore outside the home through activities such as participating in sports, doing repairs in the garage with the father, or mowing the lawn. All these are learning experiences which are valuable in the world of work. On the contrary, girls "follow the footsteps" of their mothers who generally do more work inside the house. Girls seldom venture outside the home, Silvestri noted.

In Boys and girls at play, Pitcher and Schultz (1983) found a shift toward same-sex positive behaviors, and the decrease in negative initiations indicated the rapid

"domestication" of girls after age 2. According to these two writers, socialization of girls is domestication because it teaches them to inhibit assertive impulses and develop nurturant ones. Barry, Bacon, and Child (1957) and Silvestri (1989) seemed to agree that parents expect their daughters to be obedient, responsible, and nurturant whereas boys are pressured to be more self-reliant and achievement oriented. Pitcher and Schultz (1983) argued that boys are socialized by influencing each other in a manner quite different from girls. There are different interactive styles that represent the beginnings of different sex-typed socialization in the context of early parent-infant play (Roggman & Peery, 1989) that contribute to the differing attitudes of males and females toward specific careers. This early socialization process also influences their career development outlook in particular career clusters.

What was evident in the literature (Pitcher & Schultz, 1983; Block, 1989; Renzetti and Curran, 1989; Silvestri, 1989) was that males and females are socialized differently. Renzetti and Curran (1989)pointed out that men and women are treated differently in most societies:

> Every society prescribes traits, behaviors, and patterns of social interaction for its members on the basis of sex. These prescriptions are embedded in the institutions of society; in its economy, political system, educational systems, religions, family forms, and so on. (p.2)

The research on socialization also indicated that females are socialized at an early age toward careers or stereotypic roles that are subordinate to those of their male counterparts. The home and school environments do have a lot of influence on children's perceptions of themselves, their surrounding, and general dispositions. Most significantly, teachers, parents, and peers shape the future of every child.

Hensel (1989) raised interesting points on how the home environment influenced attitudes of children toward certain careers by revealing that as the child grows, s/he was generally encouraged to adopt sexually stereotypic play patterns such as "boys play with trucks, balls, erector sets, marbles, and other action toys, while girls are encouraged to read

and to play in the house with dolls and miniature tea sets" (p. 649). There are a lot of things learned during these games played by children. Hensel's observation was that boys learn certain mathematical and science concepts and computational skills in their play while girls spend most of their time talking to dolls, thereby learning verbal skills as opposed to computational skills. Teachers, on the other hand, "tend to reinforce stereotypic behavior and sex-role standards in children through their conscious and unconscious differential treatment of sexes" (p. 650). The intriguing thing is that children relate what they learn during play to the world of work.

From the research findings on science and technology there is no doubt that the differences in the socialization process by the family have a bearing on the future learning and attitudes of the child. There was ample evidence in the literature that females are socialized at an early age toward careers that deal with social relationships and interaction. Among these careers are teaching, social work, nursing, and counseling. These are careers where verbal skills and empathic understanding are generally required most. Silvestri's study (1989) revealed that girls were usually exposed to a more emotional upbringing which includes being held and talked to more frequently. She maintained the view that this accounted for females' higher verbal skills. In addition, parental conditioning and what children learn from observing adults, children perceive many activities to be either masculine or feminine. Silvestri also found that although both sexes were aware of sex-typed activities, males seemed to be more rigid in attempting only activities appropriate for their sex; and males desire to master difficult tasks showed a strong ego involvement, especially when attempting individual activities. Traditionally, the activities for boys in the family are those that are associated with masculinity. This belief that jobs that require extra physical power are for men seems to have extensive influence in people's selection of certain occupational roles. In their support of Kistakowsky's finding of 1980, Hill, Pettus, and Hedan (1990) argued that sex-role perceptions are shaped to a great extent by family and peer expectations. Cohen and Cohen (1980) found that families tended to expect girls

to achieve at school and remain popular with boys; while boys were expected to assume responsibility and strive toward a lucrative career.

It is clear from the literature on socialization that females receive less encouragement to pursue subjects and careers that contradict the role differentiation established by the gender constructions in most patriarchal relations. The question to ask is how far do these constructions continue to influence participation in careers related to decision-making. Boys do not have experiences that will prepare them to be co-equal partners in the home (Richards & Larson, 1989). They are socialized to the meaning of work outside the home, while girls, on the contrary, are conditioned and drilled on how to be caring mothers, and how to love. Generally, girls develop a positive sense of self within the context of household maintenance. Richards and Larson (1989) argued that "if traditional sex roles are the end point of these young adolescents' socialization, then they are being effectively socialized" (pp. 624-5). They stated that if a more egalitarian set of roles awaits them at adulthood, certain of their current experiences and behaviors may be misdirecting them. In short, parents have been found to be using patterns that were reinforced by elementary school teachers (Campbell & Connolly, 1985).

The school, which represents the second environment of the child, contributes a lot to the child's personality and perception of the world of work by transmitting the values, behaviors, and expectations that reflect the society. This information can be acquired both formally through teaching or informally through the "hidden curriculum." Children learn through listening to teachers, reading prescribed texts, and also through what they observe teachers do. They also learn a great deal from their peers. The teacher, therefore, is the key person and most strategically placed in determining what should be learned. S/he plays an important role in changing or molding the children's behavior and attitudes. Being an important model, children look up to him/her for many things. A study by Jones (1987) supported findings of earlier research by Block (1984) which suggested that the different

patterns of teacher and professor behavior toward girls, send very clear messages which act as barriers to growth.

Thompson (1983) argued vehemently on the role played by education in the socialization of boys and girls, stating that 97% of the government of education was male, men monopolizing the positions of responsibility in schools. Thompson's argument was that:

> If girls are looking for role models, they will find women teachers doing more of the "hardgraft" in teaching, powerfully entrenched only in those subjects like home economics and commerce which carry no prestige, and acting out their domestic and limited occupational destinies as school secretaries, dinner ladies and cleaners. (p. 38)

This state of affairs portrayed by Thompson affirmed the belief that girls' main priority was to be wives and mothers, and their education re-affirmed their current position and status. The school conditions girls to accept their roles and traditional positions by reinforcing and endorsing the "superiority" of boys in comparison to girls when it comes to sexual division of labor and career choices. In writing about the education of girls and co-education in Africa, Castle (1966) quoted an educated African woman, widely experienced in the customs of many countries as saying:

> One of the greatest battles any educator is facing in African countries is to bring about the realization that a girl is not inferior to a boy. Many women and girls have grown up to believe in and accept inferiority; many more men and boys are convinced of it. (p. 120)

Spender (1980) saw education as responsible for assisting in providing an ideological framework which justifies the disadvantage of girls and helps make it seem reasonable. Spender pointed out that education maintained the existing status quo by passing on, directly or indirectly, the attitudes held by society. Education seems to reinforce a lot of what children have learned at home. To a great extent education perpetuates the stereotypic sex-roles already upheld by the larger culture. Thompson (1983) suggested that girls, especially in traditionally male-dominated fields such as

technology, were subjected to male prejudice about their capacity to understand and handle machinery:

> It is not surprising, in these circumstances, that the majority of girls will feel unwelcome, collude in the presentation of themselves as incompetent and uninterested, and retreat to safer territory where their interests and concerns are seemingly better catered for. (p. 39)

Most girls are "forced" to choose subjects which have always been regarded as "girls' careers." In doing so they are accepting a low-status, low-paid job as a temporary diversion before marriage (Thompson, 1983). Even in lessons that are free of gender tendencies girls still learn to know their place. More attention is given to boys. Girls are rewarded for conformity and passivity and treated as less intelligent than boys. It is sometimes difficult to be different. Those who choose to be different by violating gender expectations are usually regarded as "odd" and have to either assume masculine qualities and/or adopt an "I-don't care" attitude in order to succeed in this male-centered environment. Young women find themselves equipped psychologically to be wives and caring mothers and it is in this context that traditional domestic roles are inherited and perpetuated (Thompson, 1983). Duncan (1989) observed that girls in Botswana's secondary schools tended to aspire to jobs in teaching, nursing, and clerical work while boys' aspirations were less constrained and encompassed a much wider range of jobs, suggesting that subject preferences also followed stereotypical lines. For example, girls would tend to select and do well in English or languages, and those subjects with domestic orientation such as home economics. Boys, on the other hand, would prefer woodwork, metalwork, and technical and scientific courses. All this, according to Duncan, reflects gender-typing of school subjects and occupations in Botswana.

Reading through most of the textbooks creates the feeling that men are creators and rulers of this world. The prescribed books in schools reflect the patriarchal nature of society. There are more heroes than heroines in the books prescribed for history and literature courses. Students read about "great explorers", philosophers, great writers and

artists of ancient times, and in the case of African past they are exposed to the philosophies and activities of some of the leaders who led nationalist movements or the liberation struggles: Nkurumah, Nyerere, Machel, Mondlane, Lumumba. In other parts of the world we here of Vasco da Gama, Batholomew Diaz, Livingstone, Plato, Aristotle, Sophocles, Socrates, Shakespeare, Milton. All these are men of fame. Conversely, the activities and roles played by women are either downplayed or devalued and in most cases described negatively. For example, MaNthatisi, mother of chief Sekonyela and former leader of a Sotho-speaking community known as the Tlokwa in 1820's is presented by some historians and missionaries such as Robert Moffat in the most despicable manner.

In his description of his twenty-three years as agent of the London Missionary Society in Southern Africa Moffat (1842) presents a weird picture of MaNthatisi recounting that:

> It was said that a mighty woman of the name of Mantatee, was at the head of an invincible army, numerous as the locusts, marching onward among the interior nations, carrying devastation and ruin wherever she went; that nourished the army with her milk, sent out hornets before it, and, in one word, was laying the world desolate. Concluding that these might be only rumours of a destructive war carrying on by Chaka, the tyrant of the Zoolus [sic], and that he was at too great a distance from us to affect our operations, I resolved on a journey which I had been contemplating for some months. (p. 340)

While such abject portrayal of African leaders of ancient Africa is common in most history books and documents published mainly by the vanguards of colonialism, a majority rarely featured women's contribution as vital. Generally, women were presented as mere figureheads who have no political power or influence at all; they were just mother figures or the chief/king's mother.

Most, if not all, discoveries, inventions, and interesting, exciting, and creative scientific activities are reported to have been made principally by men. All this sends clear messages about the masculinity of the world in which we live. It is clear from the literature that the low representation of women mirrors experiences of education, or curriculum and

teachers' negative attitudes toward girls' capability in certain subjects. Thompson (1983), for example, stated that:

> We should not be surprised, therefore, that young women develop diffidence of passivity, or hostility as a response to such an experience, and emerge from it less confident about their own abilities, choosing less demanding courses, settling for lower-paid jobs, looking to the future with a certain amount of ambivalence and resignation. (p. 44)

There were indications in the literature that academic selection was determined largely by socialization experiences and attitudinal factors (Dick & Rallis, 1991). In their study on career selection Dick and Rallis (1991) concluded that early efforts at encouraging women to study mathematics and science could be effective in correcting the disproportionate representation of women in science and engineering fields. According to Dick and Rallis, a

> career's perceived value is determined by intrinsic factors, such as intellectual interest as well as extrinsic factors such as salary expectation and the cost and length of future training. These beliefs, in turn, are formed through the interpretation of past experiences (grades, test scores, and the related experiences either in or out of school) and the perception of the attitudes and expectations of others, such as parents, teachers, counselors, and so on, whom we refer to as socializers. These attitudes could include the gender-appropriateness of particular career choices. (p. 283)

The "socializers" have powerful influence on students through their attitudes and expectations, and can provide experiences for them that influence how they interpret those experiences (Dick & Rallis, 1991).

Rapoport (1991) contended that gender-differential socialization in adolescence has direct implications for adulthood, a period in which the gender gap becomes institutionalized in the division of labor. This institutionalization of the gender gap, according to Rapoport, was manifested in the occupational marginality of women, who tended to occupy roles characterized more by interpersonal orientations, caring, and commitments than competitiveness, risk-taking, initiative, and public negotiations. Men, on

the contrary, were more likely to exhibit the latter traits, which constitute "corporate role behavior" in the public and organizational arena.

Stonewater (1988) pointed out that the overall view of career decision-making for males would indicate that career decisions would be based on logical perceptions about what is appropriate and what they expect to be able to accomplish. Stonewater pointed out that males would see themselves as separate from others and would make an objective assessment of their skills and abilities. Females, in contrast, would likely be more concerned about finding a career in which they could be connected to others and be involved in helping, and not hurting others. Stonewater contended that females would be more likely to involve others, and their perceptions of the needs of others, in evaluating career possibilities. These differences in career decisions may have some influence on participation of men and women in certain occupational roles such as educational administration.

Despite its limitations such as overlooking the ideological, socio-economic status, and social class of individuals studied, research on influence of socialization on career selection shed light on parents' and teachers' influence on the young. These influences shaped the perception of self, the environment, and their daily interaction with their surroundings. Parents sometimes stereotypically shape the attitudes of children by endorsing some of the cultural values and attitudes that prescribe gender role differences together with their participation in certain occupational roles.

Summary

This chapter presented a review of the literature on the factors influencing participation of women in educational and occupational roles. The first section of the literature review focused on the role played by organizational/institutional structures on the participation of women in occupational roles. The literature revealed that traditional organizational structure of institutions did not provide support systems for working

women. Networking was identified by a number of writers as a means of penetrating the male power base. Another organizational factor that was seen as contributing to women's low participation in certain occupational roles, especially educational administration, was the lack of conducive atmosphere for women. The hostile environment was believed to account for the differential progress of women and the lowering of morale among women. Negative attitudes toward women were seen as influencing the devaluation of women. While there were contradictory views on how women were evaluated compared to men there were indications that women were less favorable on specific organizational matters but viewed positively on matters relating to instructional leadership. What seemed to come out clearly from the literature was the fact that the perception that women had less ability and effectiveness as leaders influenced personnel selection board members or employers to reward them less by not appointing them for leadership positions.

Yet, the literature also attributed gender differentials in administration of schools to women's leadership style. What the literature suggested was that biases in selection and expectations of the selection board members determines who is selected for a position of responsibility in an organization. The selection board members have their expectations of a leader and any failure to fit into their prescribed characteristics of a leader may militate against a candidate's chance of being chosen for promotion. Although women were described as superior to men in providing instructional leadership (while men faired well in organizational matters), organizations preferred men to run schools mainly because traditional educational leadership emphasized organizational issues more than instructional matters, thus women were less favorable. What the literature revealed was that women's leadership style and their feminine traits were not congruent with the competitive, paternalistic model of most traditional organizations. In addition, women were not likely to be selected for administrative positions because stereotypic perceptions of administration were inconsistent with the collaborative approach which women tend to adopt.

Administration has been defined in masculine terms and anyone who lacks the masculine qualities is likely not to be appointed.

The hiring and promotional practices in traditional organizational structures were associated with gender imbalance in educational institutions. There was also an indication in the literature that pioneer women suffered the effects of exclusion and isolation in most male dominated organizations. As a gender minority, women were not welcome in traditional "male domains" despite the demographic changes in the labor force today. The literature suggested that these women were vulnerable and invariably subjected to sexist attitudes. Rivalry among women was noted as working against the women's cause because those who have made it to the top sometimes created difficulties for those who wanted to accede to higher positions of authority.

The second section of this chapter focused on how personal motivational factors and contradictory gender expectations contributed to the low participation of women in certain educational and occupational roles. The research on gender role stereotyping concluded that contradictory gender expectations as a result of combining personal and professional activities had far-reaching impact on the lives of women. What some of the findings suggested was that working women found themselves grappling with the problem of coping with divergent roles of family and career. While most were described as finding it difficult to cope with the workload created by participating in career and family roles, others encountered some psychological strain and personality conflict due to these conflicting gender expectations. While some women were reported not coping with the effects of the conflict, others managed to overcome the stress by soliciting support either from family members or hiring someone to help with some of the chores in the family. It was clear from the literature that no support system was provided by the organization to assist in addressing the needs of working women. Most unfortunately, practitioners focused on trying to change these women to fit into the organizational structures by organizing educational activities that would help them cope without addressing the

underlying factors such as organizational structure, lack of support from a spouse or family members, and other social problems. In addition, these practitioners overlooked the fact that the social, cultural, economic, and political structures needed to change.

The other factor discussed in the literature was the fact that while women had high educational and occupational aspirations most of them still gravitated toward traditional "female domains," especially to people-centered careers. Research found that women still trailed behind in participation in areas related to management or leadership. Some writers indicated that it was not enough to eliminate barriers but that practitioners also needed to focus on the psychological and emotional impact of assuming new roles, especially those believed to be for men.

The third section of this chapter reviewed literature that linked gender representation in educational and occupational roles to societal influences such as socialization and sex-role stereotyping. The family and education institutions were viewed as the two main agents of this role orientation. Negative stereotypic attitudes toward women's ability in certain social and occupational roles such as leadership were seen as having a debilitating effect on girls' attitudes toward these roles thus creating a barrier to their advancement in these areas. The behaviors and expectations of significant others, socio-cultural and other environmental concerns, and practices were reported as having an influence on the attitudes and occupational aspirations of the young. These stereotypic cultural expectations were said to influence children's perceptions of themselves, their surroundings, and general social outlook.

What seemed to run through the literature was the role played by the attitudes, behaviors, and actions of individuals, organizations, and society as a whole in influencing those involved in personnel selection, those interacting with women, those of women themselves. The context within which women lived and worked seemed significantly to contribute to their participation both in educational and occupational roles. Most intriguing

was the fact that there was no way one could deal with the problem of gender inequality exclusive of other social maladies.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter, five aspects of the methodology of the study will be examined: (1) research design, (2) population and sampling procedures, (3) instrumentation, (4) pilot testing of the survey, and (5) data collection and analysis.

The Research Design

This section provides a description of the design of the study.

Design of the Study

This nationwide survey of the teacher and administrator attitudes toward advancement of women in educational administration in Botswana used both documentary analysis and a questionnaire and interviews. Personal and educational background of the respondents in this study were determined, as it was anticipated that these variables might influence respondents' perceptions of barriers and attitudes toward women's advancement in educational administration. The personal and educational data also provided a profile of teachers and administrators in Botswana's school system.

Population and Sampling Procedures

The population. The research was carried out in Botswana schools (primary and secondary levels), education offices, and Ministry of Education departments. The office of the President, Botswana government, was consulted and permission and support for the study were granted in accordance with Anthropological Research Act Grant of Permit under section 3 (see Appendix A). The sample studied was drawn from administrators (i.e., education officers and heads of schools including deputies and senior teachers) and teachers of primary and secondary schools in Botswana. The target population under study comprised people from diverse cultures with different professional status, educational and

personal backgrounds that had a lot in common, i.e., their professional orientation and role in the education of the young.

Sampling procedures. Prior to sampling, lists of teachers and administrators were collected from the Unified Teaching Service (UTS), Teacher education department, and Secondary department which provided a list of heads of secondary schools. The purpose of the lists was to identify the population from whom a random sample could be drawn to respond to the questionnaire. A stratified random sampling procedure was used in selecting respondents because of its advantage in drawing a sample that was representative of the population in terms of certain critical factors such as personal and educational background. In addition, this sampling procedure was preferred because it provided adequate cases for subgroup analysis. Sampling involved separating teachers and administrators according to various subgroups such as gender, position, and the two education levels (i.e., primary and secondary). This was followed by establishing the required number of respondents for each subgroup.

A sample of 840 teachers and administrators was drawn from three levels as shown in Table 3.1. Administrators were surveyed because they occupy a strategic position in the selection and promotion of teachers into educational administration. Their main role in the whole process of selection and promotion is to make recommendations concerning potential candidates for promotion in their respective schools or district. Teachers, on the other hand, were included in the study since they occupy key positions in the socialization process of the students through their behaviors and practices, and most important of all by reinforcing students' sex-role appropriate behaviors. Each group in the sample constituted an equal number of males and females who were examined separately on a number of personal and educational variables gathered through the survey. From the total sample of the entire group of respondents a randomly selected group of 30 participants was interviewed.

Table 3.1

Number of Respondents by Level and Position

Level	Position	Number of participants
Primary	Teachers	220
	Heads of schools	190[a]
Secondary	Teachers	200
	Heads of schools	180[a]
Inspectorate	Education officers	50[b]
	Total	840

Note. [a]*Heads of schools included headmasters/mistresses/teachers, deputy heads, and senior teachers in administration.*
[b]*Education officers included senior education officers, regional education officers, field education officers, education officers (primary), and center directors.*
Gender is not reflected because there was an equal number of males and females selected from each group.

The division according to subcategories and the determination of the number required from each subgroup was intended to make the findings generalizable to that particular group. The random selection was achieved by selecting every nth name from the list in that particular group. The nth figure for each group depended upon the size of the population for that particular category. For example, for teachers the "nth" name was set at the 20th name because the number of teachers was large. On the other hand, education officers' nth name was set at 10th name because there were fewer in the list. The selected name was assigned a four-digit number for identification and data entry into computer files for data analysis at the University of Alberta.

The main problem encountered with sampling was that the lists, especially those of teachers, were not fully updated by the time the sampling was done. This was due, in part, to the fact that data collection was done at the end of the academic year (1992) when most of the transfers were made. As a result, 67 questionnaires had to be re-directed by former schools to the individuals who had been transferred to other schools or those who had

joined the university or colleges of education for further education. Although this was not a major problem it contributed to delays in returning these questionnaires. This was noted by the number of letters from respondents indicating that they received their survey package late because of a change of address, thus resulting in their late return of the completed questionnaire.

Instrumentation

A nation-wide survey of the teacher and administrator attitudes and perceptions of barriers to advancement of women as well as an interview schedule were used in collecting data. Both the survey and interview schedule used English language. In those instances when setswana was used in written or spoken response, the researcher translated the data for the study. A questionnaire survey was used because of its advantages in data collection. One of the main advantages of the survey was that it permitted a wide coverage with limited costs and time, both in geographic distribution of the sample and diversity and size of the population under study. Another advantage of the survey over other measures for data collection was the fact that it was easy to use. The researcher could get an overall picture of the problem being studied; respondents could express a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward women in administration by using a Likert scale. Nevertheless, the survey method had some limitations, such as insufficiency of information gathered, postponement in responding to questionnaires, and space limitations for the respondents' responses. Other limitations included the fact that respondents might not disclose negative information about themselves or might fail to provide a true picture of their opinions and feelings unless probed to do so.

In view of the limitations of the questionnaire to provide an in-depth overview of attitudes and behaviors of the respondents, a semi-structured interview (see Appendix E) was also used with a small sample of respondents. A semi-structured interview was preferred because it provided a combination of objectivity and depth. The interview

approach was used to supplement the questionnaire by providing additional data that had not been generated through the survey. In addition to the advantage of providing greater clarity, the semi-structured interview provided immediate feedback, adaptability, and most important of all it allowed direct verbal interaction between the researcher and respondents.

A random sample of participants was selected and appointments for scheduling interviews were made by telephone. Since the research was conducted at the end and beginning of the year most participants were busy with either end-of-year examinations marking and reports or beginning-of-the-year preparations. One problem encountered with some respondents was that they could not respond to some questions, especially one on incentives for advancement of women in educational administration. This was due, in part, to lack of information on the government's strategies for the improvement of the advancement of women in administration.

Both research instruments (i.e., the questionnaire and interview schedule) were designed at the University of Alberta in early 1992 and pilot tested in Botswana by the researcher several months later. These instruments were developed after the literature search, especially for any attitude scales that might have been developed to generate data on attitudes toward women administrators. Two attitude scales, the Women as Managers Scale (WAMS) and Managerial Attitudes Toward Women Executives Scale (MATWES) were identified and modified to develop the attitude scale contained in Part C of the questionnaire. A discussion of the development of the questionnaire and interview schedule is provided in the following sections.

Questionnaire design. The questionnaire developed for this study (see Appendix D) was designed to elicit teacher and administrator responses on attitudes and perceptions of barriers toward women's advancement in educational administration. The questionnaire consisted of three parts: Part A sought to gather personal data and professional background of the respondents, Part B covered a list of perceived barriers to advancement of women, and Part C ascertained attitudes toward women as leaders. Each part is discussed in turn.

The personal data and professional background collected in Part A were used to compile a profile of teachers and educational administrators in Botswana's education system on the following variables: gender, age, marital status, academic qualifications, teaching experience, professional status and training, and experience working with a woman administrator. In addition, this part of the survey included questions on the respondents' educational administration experience and perceptions of the ability of the woman administrator they had worked with.

Part B focused on the perceived barriers for women in educational administration. The items related to the common barriers to advancement of women in educational administration were derived from related literature on sex discrimination (Brenton, 1980; Dublon, 1983; Grant & Martin, 1990; Pounder, 1990; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992), socialization or gender role orientation (Nixon & Hrynyk, 1973; Brenton, 1980; Elder, 1984; Duncan, 1989; Estes, 1989; Hensel, 1989; Silvestri, 1989), educational requirements and experience (Johnson & Hutchison, 1990), beliefs with respect to administration (Dunning, 1991), selection criteria (Oaks, 1986, Pounder, 1990), family responsibilities (Nixon, 1975; Dublon, 1983; Etaugh, 1985; Cortina, 1989), and negative attitudes towards women (Marshall, 1984; Dagg & Thompson, 1988; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). Respondents were asked to indicate their perception of the importance of each of the barriers in deterring the participation of women in educational administration in Botswana. A five-point Likert scale was used, with the following categories:

1. No Importance (NI)
2. Slight Importance (SI)
3. Moderate Importance (MI)
4. Considerable Importance (CI)
5. High Importance (HI)

A Likert scale was preferred over other scales because of its great strength in using item analysis techniques to "purify" the scale by keeping only the best items from the initial item pool (Oskamp, 1977). This strength is derived from comparing the group of respondents scoring the highest on the total pool of items with the group scoring the

lowest. According to Oskamp, this approach would eliminate the middle group whose attitudes may be less clear, less consistent, less strongly-held, and less well-informed. For purposes of this study the scale was intended to differentiate between those upholding favorable and unfavorable attitudes toward women in administration. As a result scale responses could provide a summary of those that expressed positive feelings with those that had negative attitudes toward women administrators.

The attitude scale in Part C was designed by modifying the Women as Managers Scale (WAMS) and Managerial Attitudes Toward Women Executives Scale (MATWES). The items on the attitude scale were designed to assess the attitudes people have about women educational administrators. The statements covered many different and opposing points of view, and the respondents could find themselves agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about some. The modified scales comprised all the 21 items of the WAMS and 15 of the MATWES. The modification of the items will be discussed in turn. Each item in the scale consisted of a declarative statement for which there were five response alternatives ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." The best answer to each statement represents the respondent's personal opinion. Respondents indicated degrees of agreement or disagreement by circling the most appropriate number:

1. Strongly Disagree (SD)
2. Moderately Disagree (MD)
3. Uncertain (U)
4. Moderately Agree (MA)
5. Strongly Agree (SA)

The WAMS was designed by Peters, Terborg, and Taynor in 1974 to identify and measure stereotypic attitudes toward women as managers. According to Teborg et al. (1974) the split-half (odd-even) reliability of the 21 item scale was .91. The final scale contained 11 items worded favorably describing women as managers and 10 items worded unfavorably. Items 1, 3, 6, 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, and 21 were reverse scored so that a high scale score was associated with a favorable attitude toward women as administrators. In

their study to establish the validation of the WAMS Teborg, Peters, Ilgen, and Smith (1977) generated data supporting its validity as a measure of attitudes toward women as managers. In addition, they found that while organizational data did not relate consistently to attitudes toward women as managers, the personal data of sex and education consistently predicted attitudes toward women as managers. The WAMS was used by Berryman-Fink and Wheeless (1984) in studying the relationship among attitudes toward women in general and attitudes toward women as managers with reliability reported at .90 (Nunnally, 1978). For purposes of this study items from WAMS were modified by substituting the word manager with educational administrator.

Also included in Part C was a total of 15 items from the Managerial Attitudes Toward Women Executives Scale (MATWES) developed by Dubno, Costas, Cannon, Wankel, and Emin in 1979. The MATWES consists of 38 statements relating to a variety of topics such as the competence of women executives, the impact of women executives on male subordinates, and the "right" of women to hold executive positions. According to the authors of the MATWES, about 40% of the items expressed positive views of women executives, while the other items expressed negative views. To establish the validity of the MATWES the authors found a correlation of .73 between MATWES and WAMS, with the median score for female respondents significantly different from that of males. For the purpose of the current study only those items that had a correlation .60 and above were selected from the MATWES to be included in the attitude scale.

Terms in the instrument that were inappropriate to educational administration such as manager were replaced with more appropriate terms such as educational administrator. At the end of the questionnaire participants were asked to respond to two open-ended questions: (1) commenting on their experiences in working with a woman administrator, and (2) suggestions for improving the participation of women in educational administration.

Interview schedule. The purpose of the interviews was to gather qualitative data on some of the issues that were not addressed by the questionnaire. The development of the interview items was based on literature reviewed in chapter 2. The semi-structured interview schedule developed by the researcher was intended to solicit responses to items regarding participant's attitudes toward women in educational administration; cultural expectations with regards to educational administration; any perceived differences between male and female administrators; incentives for women to apply for educational administration; effectiveness of the existing strategies used by government or educational administrators to influence greater participation of women in educational administration, and suggestions for the improvement of women's participation in educational administration.

Pilot Testing the Instruments

Prior to the study, the questionnaire and interview schedule were submitted to a panel of experts at the University of Alberta for an evaluation to establish the relevance of the final revision of the instruments. The panel comprised persons who had expertise in qualitative and quantitative research methods. The research instruments were then field tested in Botswana to check the relevance and understandability of the items, and to test the feasibility of the intended data coding systems. Pilot testing the instruments provided feedback to identify necessary improvement, clarification, and modification of individual or whole sections of the items or instrument. Participants in the pilot-test were a small group of 50 teachers and administrators randomly selected from the same population used in the study. A pilot test response form was mailed to all the 50 participants to make their comments and return to the researcher at the Guidance & Counselling Unit, Gaborone. A group of 20 participants who were within easy reach were met by the researcher to pilot test the interview schedule and to discuss some of the responses to the pilot test.

The pilot test respondents were asked to indicate their comments on the understandability of the items; cultural appropriateness of the language or statements used; length of the questionnaire; ambiguity of the questions; and general comments on the questionnaire. Pilot testing data revealed no major difficulties with understandability of the research instruments. Part A, section III (A) of the questionnaire was modified as a result of the comments and suggestions from colleagues from the Guidance and Counselling Unit of the Curriculum Development and Evaluation, Ministry of Education, Botswana, and potential respondents. The trial testing revealed that the question in section III (A) was rather confusing because most respondents selected only one of the options given. The instructions in Part B also needed some clarification (see Appendix B for the final items). The instructions needed to be rephrased because participants could not figure out what "perception of importance" of barriers meant.

During pilot testing a majority of the respondents were uncomfortable with the idea of recording the interviews on audio tape cassette for transcription later. Consequently, no interviews were recorded on audio tape. The interviewer only took notes during the interviews.

Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

This section provides a description of the techniques used to collect and analyze data.

Data Collection

The sample of 840 teachers and administrators received by mail a package containing a letter (Appendix A) from the Office of the President, Botswana government granting the researcher permission to do the study. A questionnaire (Appendix D), soliciting responses on attitudes and perceived barriers toward the advancement of women in educational administration in Botswana, was also included in the package.

Also included in the package was a letter of transmittal explaining procedures for selection of participants; assuring respondents of the procedures to guarantee confidentiality, and inviting them to participate in the study. The letter of transmittal (see Appendix B) also briefly explained the purpose of the study and included an offer to send respondents a copy of the results. Respondents were asked to include a stamped, self-addressed envelope if they were interested in receiving a summary of the findings. In addition, a stamped, self-addressed envelope was enclosed in the package for respondents to return the completed questionnaire as soon as possible.

Some packages, especially those for respondents within close proximity, were dispatched through special delivery to the school or the participants themselves, while those for respondents in distant locations were delivered in post offices nearest to the participants' school or town. This was to facilitate immediate delivery of most of the packages. Code numbers were given to every questionnaire before mailing the package and all the names of the respondents were recorded separately in a confidential file. Participation in the study was voluntary.

All respondents were requested to return their completed questionnaires by January, 15, 1993. Three weeks after the initial mailing, non-respondents were sent a reminder. Appendix C contains a copy of the follow-up letter sent to non-respondents. Three weeks later, all subjects who had not returned their response were sent a new package. A number of those who returned their questionnaires after a follow-up letter was sent to them included a note indicating reasons for not returning the questionnaire in time. Transfer to another school and delays in receiving mail were the most common reasons for the delay or not returning the questionnaire after initial mailing. A total of 504 respondents submitted completed questionnaires. Data collection started December 15, 1992 and was completed by February, 1993 with an overall response rate of 60%.

Additional data were collected through interviewing a sample of 30 respondents; all of those selected agreed to participate in the interview. The sample for interviewees

comprised teachers and administrators randomly selected from the sample of those who responded to the questionnaire. Most of these respondents were contacted either by phone prior to the interview or personal visit to the school by the researcher. While most respondents were busy with their preparation for the new academic year, they made time to meet with the researcher. Interviews ranged from 20-45 minutes while approximately 30 minutes were required to complete the questionnaire.

Data on the participation of women in the labor force and education were gathered mainly from the Central Statistics Office publications and the Employment Unit of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Botswana. Among the publications used for this background information of the study were: (1) Botswana in figures, 1990; (2) Education Statistics, 1991; (3) Labour Statistics 1990/1991, 1991; (4) National Development Plan 7, 1991-1997; and (5) Women and men: Facts & figures, 1991.

Data Analyses

Treatment of the questionnaire data. All data from the questionnaires were coded and analyzed with the aid of a computer using the SPSS-X statistical program with some consultation with the Center for Research in Applied Measurement and Evaluation (CRAME) at the University of Alberta. All data were coded by the end of April 1993 and data entry was completed in June 1993. Descriptive statistics were calculated (see Chapter Four for details). Recoding marital status, age, professional status, teaching experience, and academic qualification was done after getting an initial computer printout of the data. The coding system for various variables used in the data analysis appear in Appendix F.

Chi-square calculations were derived on the following independent variables: age with gender, position, academic qualification, marital status, years of teaching experience; gender with all the other variables; and marital status with all the other variables. The chi-square statistical procedure helps the researcher to decide whether variables are independent of each other. Reverse scoring of items 1, 3, 6, 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, and 21

on the attitude scale was done prior to data analysis so that a high scale score would be associated with a favorable attitude toward women as educational administrators. The data generated from Parts B and C were examined both by personal and educational background, i.e., Part A. Analyses of variance (F test) were computed to examine attitudes by age, academic qualification, years of teaching experience, position, and years in current position of respondents and t-tests were computed to examine attitudes by marital status of respondents.

Factor analyses were derived on the scales in Parts B and C to generate major components in the scales. Factor analysis is a statistical technique used to identify a relatively small number of factors that can be used to represent relationships among sets of interrelated variables (Norusis, 1992). Borg and Gall (1989) described factor analysis as one of the most frequently used techniques measuring a large number of variables to provide an empirical basis for reducing the many variables to a few factors by combining variables that are moderately or highly correlated with each other. Each set of variables combined, according to Borg and Gall, forms a factor, "a mathematical expression of the common element that cuts across the combined variables" (p. 621). This technique included the calculation of a correlation matrix for all variables to help identify those variables that did not appear to be related to other variables. The correlation matrix helps show the "correlation between every possible pair of variables to be analyzed" (Borg & Gall, 1989, p. 621). This was followed by the determination of the number of factors necessary to represent data and the method of calculating them.

Responses to the two open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire were entered into a computer to generate content frequencies and cross-validation of the research findings. The first question required respondents to comment on their experiences in working with a woman administrator. The comments were classified into four main categories based on their perceptions of women's leadership ability, leadership style, interactive style, and personality attributes. The second question asked respondents to give

suggestions for improving women's participation in educational administration. This was followed by analyzing the responses, comparing the themes and generalizations to the teachers and administrators.

Treatment of interview data. The analysis of the interview data began with a review of the researcher's written notes from the 30 interviews. The data gathered on the questions related to specific topics were coded before content analysis was done. As defined by Berelson (1952), content analysis as a research technique provides an unbiased, orderly, and "quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p. 18). In their description of the nature of data collected through content analysis Borg and Gall (1989) included written materials, music, pictures, gestures or all forms of communication. The main objective of content analysis in this study was to produce descriptive information on the attitudes, perceptions and suggestions of teachers and administrators regarding women administrators.

For purposes of the presentation and discussion of the attitudes toward women as leaders, the interview questions were grouped into seven categories. The analysis of the interview data was carried out separately for each question. First, the comments of each interviewee were summarized and grouped under each of the seven categories. The summary comments for each issue were then sorted into themes on that issue for each question. Comparing themes was followed by developing some generalization of the issues presented by respondents.

Summary

This chapter presented two main aspects of the study: research design and methodology. The first part of the chapter comprised a detailed description of the research design and sources of data for the study, followed by a discussion of the population and sampling procedures. The instrumentation section followed with a description of the questionnaire design and the interview schedule. A discussion of the

pilot testing procedure for the study was also presented in this chapter. Data collection and analysis procedures formed the final part of this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter provides a summary of the research findings. This study was designed to determine whether differences existed between teachers and administrators regarding their attitudes, perceptions of barriers and strategies toward advancement of women in educational administration in Botswana. The first part of the chapter presents a description of the demographic characteristics of the respondents. This is followed by a discussion of the relationship among these variables. A discussion of the differences in perceptions of barriers to advancement of women is followed by an overview of any significant relationships between demographic variables and attitudes and perceptions of barriers. Interview data findings form the last part of this chapter.

Survey Data

Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Gender of respondents. As reported in Table 4.1, the demographic information provided by the respondents revealed that 47.9% were female and 52.1% were male. Since there were equal numbers of male and female included in the random sample for the study, the slightly lower participation of women than men might indicate differences in motivation to participate or other factors that cannot be established by this study.

Age of respondents. The age of the respondents was fairly evenly distributed. These descriptive data reflected the demographic structures and general profile of Botswana's teaching force, showing that a majority of teachers were below the age of 50.

Marital status of respondents. After generating frequencies marital status was recoded to include only two categories, single and married. Marital status was recoded because the frequencies of the original categories--separated, divorced, and widowed--combined were relatively small, accounting for fewer than 8% of the respondents.

Table 4.1

Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Characteristics	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Female	240	47.9
Male	261	52.1
Total	501	
Age		
Under 30	103	20.5
30-34	93	18.5
35-39	112	22.3
40-49	113	22.4
50+	82	16.4
Total	503	
Marital status		
Single	187	37.4
Married	312	62.4
Total	499	
Highest academic qualifications		
Primary school certificate	207	41.4
Diploma in education	112	22.4
Degree	156	31.2
Other	24	4.8
Total	499	

Table continues

Table 4.1 (Continued)

Characteristics	Frequency	Percent
Years in teaching		
Under 4	53	10.8
4-7	82	16.7
8-11	102	20.8
12-15	88	17.9
16-19	58	11.8
20+	107	21.8
Total	490	
Years of total educational experience		
Under 4	47	9.6
4-7	84	17.1
8-15	171	34.8
16-23	100	20.4
24+	89	18.1
Total	481	
Professional status		
Education officer	29	5.8
Head of school	120	24.2
Administrative assistants	165	33.3
Assistant teacher	139	28.0
Senior teacher (subjects)	50	8.4
Total	503	
Years in current position		
Under 2	104	21.5
2-4	153	31.7
5-7	93	19.3
8-13	81	16.8
14+	51	10.5
Total	482	

Note. Missing cases were excluded when calculating the descriptive statistics.

The new category for married included married, separated, divorced, and widowed since respondents in these groups had experiences with marriage. As shown in Table 4.1, most respondents (62.4%) were married. This means that a majority of respondents currently either had families or had a previous experience with married life.

Academic qualifications of respondents. The largest number of respondents (41.4%) had a primary school certificate as their highest academic qualification. About two-fifth of those who participated in the study were qualified for teaching at the primary school level. The second largest proportion of participants (31.2%) had a university degree as their highest academic qualification, followed by 22.4% with a diploma in education. University degree holders included those who had a bachelor's degree in education, a bachelor's degree in humanities with a concurrent certificate/diploma or postgraduate diploma in education, or a graduate degree. A small percentage of respondents had other academic qualifications such as Junior Certificate (JC), Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (COSC), or other related academic programs.

Teaching experience of respondents. Data on teaching experiences of respondents indicated a fairly wide variation in the years of experience. The average number of years in teaching was 16.6, with 10.8% in their first years of teaching and 21.8% with 20 years or more.

Years of total educational experience. The majority of respondents had more than 4 years of total education experience. The largest proportion (34.8%) had between 8 and 15 years of total education experience. Only 10 % of the respondents had fewer than 4 years of total education experience. The small percentage of respondents with less than 4 years experience might be due to the fact that teachers' records were not up to date at the time the sampling was done in December 1992. Perhaps many of those who had just joined the teaching service were excluded from the sample. The data from the Unified Teaching Service (UTS) indicated that the last update of records was January 7, 1993, suggesting that the names of some new teachers were not included when the

sample was drawn. Similarly, the names of teachers who had left teaching or who had gone on for further studies at colleges of education (January 1992) or the university (August 1992) were still included in the lists of teachers without change of address or status.

Professional status of respondents. Education officers represented the smallest proportion of participants (5.8%) in the study. Education officers included all those responsible for "school inspection," monitoring and supervision of the education programs in the education system. Most of these officers, based mainly in education offices, education centers, and various departments of the Ministry of Education play a significant role in recommending or selection/appointment of teachers to higher positions of authority. Their professional status varied from chief education officer (who in most cases is a head of a department), principal education officer, senior education officer, regional education officer, center director, and field officers.

Twenty-four percent of the respondents were heads of schools. Like education officers, heads of schools, as immediate supervisors of teachers, have the authority to recommend a teacher for either promotion or confirmation in an administrative position. After examining the data for professional status, deputy heads of schools, assistant heads of schools, and senior teacher positions were grouped together to form a new professional category called administrative assistants. The position of assistant head of school and senior teacher (in administration) are usually used interchangeably, therefore, some respondents chose either assistant head of school or senior teacher depending on whichever they preferred. It should also be noted that until recently, secondary schools used assistant head of school to refer to a senior teacher in administration. Usually there is an overlap in the roles played by these three groups, and also the frequencies for each group were relatively small. This new group formed the largest proportion of respondents (33.3%). Education officers, heads of schools and administrative assistants were classified as administrators while the rest were teachers. Those with a general

teaching position constituted 28% of the respondents, and another 8.4% were senior teachers (subjects), also known as heads of departments and only found at the secondary school level.

Years in current position. Only a small number (10.5%) of respondents had 14 or more years in the position they were occupying at the time of the study. The largest number of respondents (31.7%) had served for a period of 2 to 4 years in their position. About one-fifth had served for fewer than 2 years or from 5 to 7 years. A majority of respondents (72.5%) had less than 8 years in their current position.

Relationships Between Respondents' Age and Other Demographic Variables

The chi-square procedure was used to determine the relationship among the demographic variables. There was no statistically significant relationship between age and gender of the respondents. Table 4.2 shows, however, that there was a significant relationship between age and other demographic variables: highest academic qualification, marital status, total education experience, professional status, years in current position, and professional status prior to current position. It is unlikely that age and these demographic variables are independent in the population.

Age by highest academic qualification. Most respondents (67.5%) who were 50 years or older had a primary school certificate as their highest academic qualification. The same was true for those between 40 and 49 years of age for whom the largest proportion (44.2%) also held a primary school certificate. Conversely, a majority of those with a diploma in education were below the age of 35, forming 35.9% for those under the age of 30 and 34.4% for the 30 to 34 age group. Few degree holders (16.3%) were 50 years or older; most degree holders were between 30 and 49 years.

Age by marital status. Statistical information on age by marital status showed that most respondents who were single were younger, forming 80.6% for those under 30 and 50.5% for those between 30 and 34. The data also showed that most respondents

Table 4.2

Chi-square Analysis of Age by Other Demographic Variables

		Age							
Variable	f	Under 30	30-34	35-39	40-49	50+	df	χ^2	p
Highest academic qualification							8	61.02	.00
Primary	207	40(38.8)	26(28.0)	37(33.6)	50(44.2)	54(67.5)			
Diploma	112	37(35.9)	32(34.4)	16(14.5)	16(14.2)	11(13.8)			
Degree	155	21(20.4)	31(33.3)	52(47.3)	38(33.6)	13(16.3)			
Marital status							4	150.61	.00
Single	186	83(80.6)	47(50.5)	33(29.5)	16(14.4)	7 (8.8)			
Married	312	19(18.4)	46(49.5)	79(70.6)	83(85.6)	63(91.3)			
Total education experience							16	616.94	.00
Under 4	47	36(36.0)	6 (6.5)	4 (3.7)	1 (0.9)	0 (0.0)			
4-7	84	52(52.0)	21(22.8)	9 (8.3)	1 (0.9)	1 (1.3)			
8-15	171	11(11.0)	61(66.3)	71(65.1)	25(22.7)	3 (3.8)			
16-23	99	1 (1.0)	3 (3.3)	25(22.9)	59(53.6)	11(13.9)			
24+	89	0 (0.0)	1 (1.1)	0 (0.0)	24(21.8)	64(81.0)			
Professional status							16	188.33	.00
EO	29	0 (0.0)	3 (3.3)	7 (6.3)	9 (8.0)	10(12.3)			
Head	119	0 (0.0)	7 (7.6)	30(26.8)	42(37.5)	40(49.4)			
Admin.	165	16(16.3)	45(48.9)	38(33.9)	43(38.4)	23(28.4)			
Teacher	139	65(66.3)	29(31.5)	28(25.0)	10(8.9)	7(8.6)			
HOD	42	16(16.3)	8 (8.7)	9 (8.0)	8 (7.1)	1 (1.2)			

Table continues

Table 4.2 (Continued)

Variable	f	Under 30	30-34	35-39	40-49	50+	df	χ^2	p
Years in current position							16	167.64	.00
Under 2	104	36(37.9)	26(29.5)	21(19.6)	18(16.2)	3 (3.7)			
2-4	153	38(40.0)	30(34.1)	46(43.0)	26(23.4)	13(16.0)			
5-7	93	16(16.8)	19(21.6)	21(19.6)	24(21.6)	13(16.0)			
8-13	80	4 (4.2)	13(14.8)	16(15.0)	29(26.1)	18(22.2)			
14+	51	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (2.8)	14(12.6)	34(42.0)			
Professional status prior to current position							16	134.95	.00
EO	5	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	3 (3.8)			
Head	19	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.9)	4 (3.6)	14(17.5)			
Admin.	175	8 (8.6)	24(27.3)	46(42.6)	64(57.7)	33(41.3)			
Teacher	192	60(64.5)	44(50.0)	38(35.2)	24(21.6)	26(32.5)			
HOD	88	24(25.8)	20(22.7)	22(20.4)	18(16.2)	4 (5.0)			

Note. *Numbers in brackets are percentages.*
EO = education officers, Head = head of school, Admin. = administrative assistants, HOD = head of department/senior teacher (subjects)

who were married were above the age of 35.

Age by total education experience. Data on total education experience indicated that most of the respondents under 30 years had less than 4 years of experience (36%) or from 4 to 7 years (52%) total years experience. Conversely, 53.6% of those in their 40s had 16 to 23 years experience and 81% of those 50 years or older had 24 years or more experience. This analysis suggests that the respondents with more experience were most likely to be older.

Age by professional status. There was also a relationship between age and professional status of the respondent. For example, there were no education officers under the age of 30, and the percent of education officers increased with the age of the respondents. Similarly, there were no heads of schools below 30 years of age. Most respondents who held an administrative assistant position (i.e., deputy head of school, senior teacher, and assistant head) were middle aged (between 30 and 49 years). Ordinary teachers were mainly younger people, forming 66.3% for those under the age of 30; only a small proportion (8.6%) for those 50 years or more were teachers. Surprisingly, the proportion of heads of departments/senior teachers (subjects) was greater for those under 30 than for any age category.

Age by years in current position. There were indications that the years in the current position was related to age. Those who were younger spent less time in a position than those who were older. The majority of respondents (77.9%) under 30 years of age spent 4 years or less in their current professional position while 64.2% of those 50 years or older had been in their position for 8 or more years.

Age by professional status prior to current position. Professional status prior to current position seemed also to be related to age. No respondents below the age of 35 were either education officers or heads of school prior to their current position. Most respondents (64.5%) under the age of 30 and half of those between 30 and 34 years held teacher positions prior to their current position. The highest representation for those who held administrative assistant positions prior to their current position were 35 or older.

Relationship Between Marital Status and Other Demographic Variables

The chi-square procedure between marital status and other demographic variables revealed that there was a statistically significant relationship between marital status of the respondents and other variables (see Table 4.3).

Marital status by gender. The data revealed that a majority of the single (54%) were females, yet married (55.9%) were predominantly males.

Table 4.3

Chi-square Analysis of Marital Status by Other Demographic Variables

		Marital Status				
Variable	f	Single	Married	df	χ^2	p
Gender				1	4.64	.03
Female	238	101(54.0)	147(44.1)			
Male	260	86(46.0)	174(55.9)			
Age				4	150.61	.00
Under 30	103	83(44.6)	19(6.1)			
30-34	93	47(25.3)	46(14.7)			
35-39	112	33(17.7)	79(25.3)			
40-49	111	16(8.6)	95(30.4)			
50+	80	7(3.8)	73(23.4)			
Total education experience				4	124.08	.00
Under 4	47	40(22.3)	6(1.9)			
4 - 7	84	52(29.6)	31(10.1)			
8 - 15	171	62(34.6)	109(35.4)			
16 - 23	99	19(10.6)	80(26.0)			
24+	87	5(2.8)	82(26.6)			
Professional status				4	59.83	.00
EO	27	8(4.4)	19(6.1)			
Head	119	14(7.8)	105(33.8)			
Administrative	164	59(32.8)	105(33.8)			
Teacher	139	80(44.4)	59(19.0)			
HOD	42	19(10.6)	23(7.4)			

Table continues

Table 4.3 (Continued)

Variable	f	Single	Married	df	χ^2	p
Years in current position				4	46.59	.00
Under 2	104	58(33.3)	46(15.1)			
2-4	153	66(37.9)	87(28.6)			
5-7	91	28(16.1)	63(20.7)			
8-13	80	19(10.9)	61(20.1)			
14+	50	3(1.7)	47(15.5)			
Professional status prior to current position				4	42.39	.00
EO	5	0 (0.0)	5(1.7)			
Head	19	4(2.3)	15 (5.0)			
Administrative	172	35(20.0)	137(45.5)			
Teacher	191	96(54.9)	95(31.6)			
HOD	89	40(22.9)	49(16.3)			

Note. *Numbers in brackets are percentages.*
EO = education officers, Head = head of school, Administrative = administrative assistants, HOD = head of department/senior teacher (subjects)

Marital status by age. Most respondents (69.9%) who were single were under the age of 35, while a majority (79.1%) of those who were married were 35 years or older. The chi-square analysis showed that respondents' marital status and age were not independent in this sample.

Marital status by total education experience. A majority of respondents (88%) who were married had more than 8 years education experience, while about half of those who were single had less than 8 years experience. This analysis suggests that marital status and total education experience were not independent in this sample.

Marital status by professional status. The data showed that a majority of married respondents were education officers, heads of schools, and administrative assistants,

while those who were single were mainly teachers and senior teachers (subjects)/heads of departments.

Marital status by years in current position. The chi-square analysis indicated that there was a relationship between marital status and the number of years respondents spent in their current positions. Most respondents who were single had less than 4 years in their current position, while those who were married spent 5 or more years in their positions. The percent of married respondents increased with the years spent in a position.

Marital status by professional status prior to current position. All those who held the education officer position prior to their current position were married. Similarly, a majority of those who were heads of schools and administrative assistants prior to their current positions were also married. Inversely, the majority of those who previously were teachers and senior teachers (subjects)/heads of departments were single.

Relationship Between Gender and Other Demographic Variables

Table 4.4 shows that gender was related to only four demographic variables: marital status, professional status, years in current position, and professional status prior to current position.

Gender by marital status. Most respondents were married--66.9% of the male and 57.6% of the female.

Gender by professional status. There were proportionately more females than males who were education officers (6.4%), administrative assistants (39.8%), and teachers (32.6%). Conversely, males dominated as heads of schools (33.9%) and heads of departments (9.3%).

Gender by years in current position. There were more females than males with fewer than 2 years, and between 5 and 13 years in their current position. Males, on the other hand, dominated those who spent between 2 and 4 years and 14 years or more in

Table 4.4

Chi-square Analysis of Gender by Other Demographic Variables

		Gender				
Variable	f	Female	Male	df	χ^2	p
Marital status				1	4.64	.03
Single	187	101(42.4)	86(33.1)			
Married	311	147(57.6)	174(66.9)			
Professional status				4	30.53	.00
EO	29	15 (6.4)	14(5.4)			
Head	119	32(13.6)	87(33.9)			
Administrative	165	94(39.8)	71(27.6)			
Teacher	138	61(32.6)	77(23.6)			
HOD	42	18 (7.6)	24 (9.3)			
Years in current position				4	12.37	.01
Under 2	104	55(24.2)	49(19.4)			
2 - 4	153	72(31.7)	81(32.0)			
5 - 7	93	48(21.1)	45(17.8)			
8 - 13	81	40(17.6)	41(16.2)			
14+	49	12 (5.3)	37(14.6)			
Professional status prior to current position				4	11.89	.02
EO	5	0 (0.0)	5 (2.0)			
Head	19	6(2.6)	13 (5.2)			
Administrative	175	81(35.2)	94(37.9)			
Teacher	190	105(45.7)	85(34.3)			
HOD	89	38(16.5)	51(20.6)			

Note. Numbers in brackets represent percentages.
EO = education officers, Head = head of school, Administrative = administrative assistants, HOD = head of department/senior teacher (subjects)

their current professional position.

Gender by professional status prior to current position. There were no female respondents who held the education officer position prior to current position. This was,

however, not surprising since there were no females who were in any professional position higher than education officer in 1992. Data from education departments revealed that positions such as regional education officer, senior education officer (primary), principal education officer (primary), and chief education officer were all occupied by males. The chi-square analysis also showed that females were mainly teachers prior to their current professional position. Males, on the other hand, were heads of schools, administrative assistants, and heads of departments prior to their current position.

Experiences in Working with a Woman Administrator

Table 4.5 shows that about half of the respondents indicated that they once worked with a woman as deputy head of school (52.1%) or as head of school (47.3%). Conversely, most respondents had never worked with a woman as assistant head of school (75.5%) or as head of department (68.1%). The high percentage among those who had never worked with a woman as assistant head of school or head of department might be due, in part, to the fact that primary schools do not have these two administrative positions. Instead, primary schools only have senior teachers in lower administrative positions.

Comments on their Experiences in Working with a Woman Administrator

The first open-ended question at the end of the survey solicited comments on the respondents' experiences in working with a woman administrator. The responses to this question were entered into the computer to generate frequencies prior to categorization into themes. From the frequencies responses were classified according to themes reflecting positive and negative responses and then categorized into four main categories discussed below.

Table 4.5

Frequency Distribution of the Experience in Working with a Woman as Administrator (n=502)

Response	Frequency	Percent
As head of school		
Yes	238	47.3
No	264	52.5
As deputy head of school		
Yes	262	52.1
No	240	47.7
As assistant head of school		
Yes	122	24.3
No	380	75.5
As head of department		
Yes	159	31.7
No	343	68.3

Respondents' comments on their experiences in working with a woman administrator were classified into four main categories reflecting their perceptions of women's: (1) leadership ability, (2) leadership style, (3) interactive style, and (4) personality attributes. Table 4.6 shows the response categories of the experiences in working with a woman administrator. Appendix I shows a list of the various responses under each category.

Perceptions of women's leadership ability. Ninety percent of the comments that expressed positive experiences working with women as education administrators related to women's leadership ability. Invariably, the responses revealed that women were

Table 4.6

Response categories on experiences in working with a woman administrator

Perception	Positive experience	Negative experience	Total
Leadership ability	378(90.4)	40 (9.6)	418
Leadership style	40(44.4)	50(55.6)	90
Interactive style	118(78.7)	32(21.3)	150
Personality attributes	56(13.4)	362(86.7)	418

Note. Numbers in brackets represent percentage.

perceived as having the administrative ability and aptitude for educational administration. This was reflected by the respondents' descriptions of women as administrators. Words or phrases such as "capable," "good administrators," "have equal ability with/same as men," "hardworking," "industrious," and "more effective than men on the job" dominated the comments given by the respondents. Only a small proportion of responses indicated negative experiences working with a woman administrator.

Perceptions of women's leadership style. Some respondents focused on women's leadership style, maintaining that women administrators were "more cooperative" and "collaborative" than men. Among respondents who described their experiences in terms of women's leadership style, there were also those who perceived women administrators as "authoritarian." This belief was represented by over half of the responses reflecting experiences in terms of leadership style. It is rather interesting to note that some respondents perceived women as collaborative and at the same time authoritarian.

Perceptions of women's interactive style. Other respondents commented on their experiences working with women administrators by expressing their views about women's perceived interactive styles. Most responses in this category suggested that women were "kind," "friendly," and "forceful," while others believed that women administrators were not "tactful" when handling administrative issues.

Perceptions of women's personality/behavior at work. The fourth category of responses to experiences in working with a woman administrator reflected respondents' perception of women's personality or behavior at work. These respondents expressed their resentment of women's personality as leaders, describing women administrators as lacking "emotional control," "enthusiasm/ambition," and "initiative." They also noted that some women had "inferiority complex" due to "lack of self-confidence," and that they "lack knowledge" and "experience" in administration. Others accused women of "gossiping," liking "petty things," "jealousy," spending "most of their time focusing on their physical attractiveness rather than work," and for not being "professional" (pointing out that women liked discussing personal and confidential matters involving their subordinates with other people or their friends).

What was clear from these responses was that respondents focused on negative attributes that suggested women were lacking the qualities of leadership, yet a majority of respondents acknowledged that women were "good administrators." These mixed responses might reflect the diversity in teacher and administrator perceptions of women as leaders. It might also indicate that people evaluate women in certain occupational roles by focusing on personality attributes rather than work performance.

Perceptions of Women's Ability in Administration

Table 4.7 shows that most respondents (62.2%) believed that women were of equal ability with men as administrators. Almost one-fourth viewed women as having lower administrative ability than men, while 13.8% regarded women's ability to be higher than that of men. These findings were consistent with the comments on experiences working with a woman administrator where a majority of respondents expressed a positive view about women's leadership ability. Invariably, women's ability to lead was weighed against that of men.

Table 4.7

Frequency Distribution for the Perceived Ability of a Woman Administrator (n=435)

Response	Frequency	Percent
Higher	60	13.8
Equal	271	62.2
Lower	104	23.9

Preference for Male/Female Administrator

Although five-eighths of the respondents perceived women as having equal capability with men in administration (see Table 4.7), as can be seen in Table 4.8, 44.4% preferred men as administrators, while only 20.1% preferred women. This suggests that there was a gender preference in educational administration. More than one-third of respondents (35.4%) were undecided with regards to which gender they preferred.

Table 4.8

Frequency Distribution for the Preference for Male/Female Administrator (n=477)

Preference	Frequency	Percent
Men	212	44.4
Women	96	20.1
Undecided	169	35.4

Respondents' Intention to Apply for Administrative Position

Asked whether they had any intention of applying for an administrative position in education, a majority of respondents (81.3%) indicated an intention to do so (see Table 4.9). The intention to apply for a position of authority might be indicative of the level of interest in administration and high aspirations of teachers and administrators in Botswana. Only 7.7% had no intention to apply while 11.0% were undecided.

Table 4.9

Frequency Distribution for Intention to Apply for Administrative Position (n=492)

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	400	81.3
No	38	7.7
Undecided	54	11.0

Respondents' Professional Training in Administration

Table 4.10 shows that two-thirds of the respondents had no professional training in administration. Among those who indicated that they had training (32.9%) there were those who noted that they received inservice training prior to their appointment to an administrative position.

Table 4.10

Frequency Distribution for Professional Training in Administration (n=497)

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	164	32.9
No	333	66.9

Perceived Barriers to Advancement of Women in educational Administration

Table 4.11 shows perceived barriers to the advancement of women in educational administration by rank order of the means. The lack of encouragement/support for women in administration was viewed as a major deterrent for the participation of women in educational administration. Lack of self-confidence by women and family responsibilities were perceived as the second main factors that hindered women's progress in educational administration. Negative attitudes were also seen as an

Table 4.11

Distribution of Barriers to Advancement of Women in Educational Administration

Barriers	M	SD
Lack of encouragement/support	3.4	1.44
Lack of self-confidence	3.2	1.44
Family responsibilities	3.2	1.44
Negative attitudes toward women administration	3.1	1.50
Socialization/gender role orientation	2.9	1.31
Sex discrimination in promotional practices	2.8	1.58
Lack of role models	2.7	1.31
Preferential hiring practices (Nepotism)	2.7	1.52
Lack of interest in administration	2.6	1.34
Lack of time for administration	2.6	1.42
Belief that administration is for men	2.6	1.57
Lack of communication about opportunities	2.5	1.39
Lack of appropriate educational qualifications	2.5	1.54
Late receipt of information about a position	2.3	1.42

important factor in influencing the participation of women in educational administration. The least important barrier to the participation of women in educational administration was receiving information about a position late.

Factor analysis was used to reduce the 14 barriers to fewer groupings. This analysis was achieved by, first, computing a correlation matrix listwise deletion of cases with missing values. A cursory examination of the correlation matrix (Appendix G) revealed an intercorrelation of the variables with more than half of the coefficients at or above .30, suggesting that most of the variables shared common factors. A principal

component analysis extracted 3 factors with a varimax method of rotation converging at 11 iterations with a total variance of 49.8%. Table 4.12 shows the rotated factor structure matrix of the barriers to advancement of women.

Factor 1, labelled organizational/structural factor, accounted for the largest portion of the total variance (27.4%). All variables in Factor 1 were related to the organizational practices and activities that influence gender representation in educational administration. This factor consisted of 6 variables with "lack of communication about opportunities" with the highest loading of .81 and "lack of role models" having the lowest loading of .45. The other barriers in this group also related to organizational or structural matters. These barriers have implications for the way career opportunities are relayed to teachers or those interested in applying for a position. Perhaps these barriers could be overcome from an organizational perspective. For example, administrative vacancies could be advertised earlier and more openly, with an encouragement of both men and women to apply. Similarly, both hiring and promotional procedures could be reviewed to remove discriminatory practices.

Five variables were grouped under the factor labelled, personal factor. Factor 2 accounted for 11.9% of the total variance. The variable "lack of interest in administration" had the highest loading of .71 while "family responsibilities" had the lowest loading of .43. All five variables reflected what respondents perceived to be motivational factors influencing women's participation in educational administration. These items were all of personal nature.

Three variables clustered under Factor 3, labelled societal factor, with 10.5% of the variance. The variables contained in Factor 3 represent some of the perceived societal influences on the participation of women in educational administration. These influences represent the attitudes, beliefs, and socialization processes of most androcentric societies such as that of Botswana. Society's beliefs about the occupational roles of men and women and its attitudes toward these roles determines

Table 4.12

Rotated Factor Structure Matrix of Barriers to Advancement of Women

	Factors		
Factors/Items	1	2	3
Organizational/Structural Factor			
Lack of communication about opportunities	**.81**	.12	-.01
Late receipt of information about a position	**.74**	.28	-.06
Sex discrimination in promotional practices	**.58**	-.28	.48
Lack of encouragement/support	**.57**	.20	.
Preferential hiring practices (Nepotism)	**.49**	-.06	.46
Lack of role models	**.45**	.40	.19
Personal Factor			
Lack of interest in administration	.13	**.71**	-.08
Lack of self confidence	-.11	**.67**	.26
Lack of time in administration	.28	**.65**	-.04
Lack of appropriate educational qualifications	.39	**.44**	.06
Family responsibilities	.14	**.43**	.27
Societal Factor			
Belief that administration is for men	.06	.13	**.73**
Negative attitudes toward women administrators	.08	.04	**.70**
Socialization or gender role orientation	.03	.43	**.57**
Percent of variance	27.4	11.9	10.5

the actions and behaviors of both men and women who are involved in these activities. For example, a woman who believes that administration is for men is likely not to apply for an administrative position. Similarly, an employer or person who believes that

administration is for men or has negative attitudes toward women may not recommend, support, or appoint women for administrative positions. A society that teaches about distinctive gender roles would socialize young people toward or away from certain roles if such roles were believed to be for either men or women.

Effect of the Demographic Characteristics on Perceptions of Barriers

The effect of the nine demographic variables on the perception of barriers to advancement of women was tested statistically by the F test when three or more groups were involved and by the t test when only two groups were involved. A one-way analysis of variance (Anova) of perceptions of barriers to advancement of women in educational administration was performed by the demographic variables of age, highest academic qualification, total education experience, professional status, years in current position, and teaching experience.

Significant differences in the perceptions were found only by age, total education experience, and professional status (see Table 4.13). The Scheffe' procedure was used to identify the groups that differed significantly. Although the Scheffe' test did not help to identify groups that differed significantly among the various age groups the barriers appeared to be less pressing for respondents 50 years and above than for those 35 to 39 years old. The paired comparisons of means indicated that respondents who had 16 to 23 years experience perceived the barriers more strongly than did those with 24 or more years of education experience. The comparisons also showed that barriers were perceived differently by heads of schools and administrative assistants. Administrative assistants perceived barriers more strongly than did heads of schools.

The t-tests for independent samples of gender revealed that males perceived more barriers than did females on seven out of eight barriers that showed significant differences (see Table 4.14). It was only the variable "lack of self-confidence" that

Table 4.13

Effect of Demographic Variables on Perceptions of Barriers

	Group means							Scheffe'
Variable	1	2	3	4	5	F	p	pairs
Age	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.8	.02	-
Total education experience	2.8	2.7	2.8	3.0	2.6	3.5	.01	4>5
Professional status	2.8	2.6	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.8	.02	3>2

Note. Age 1 = Under 30, 2 = 30-34, 3 = 35-39, 4 = 40-49, 5 = 50 more.
Total education experience 1 = Under 4, 2 = 4-7, 3 = 8-15, 4 = 16-23, 5 = 24 or more.
Professional status 1 = Education officer, 2 = Head of school, 3 = Administrative assistants, 4 = Assistant teacher, 5 = Head of department.

Table 4.14

Effect of Gender on Perceptions of Barriers to Advancement of Women

	Female		Male			
Perceived barrier	M	SD	M	SD	t	p
Lack of encouragement/support	3.2	1.3	3.5	1.49	-2.75	.01
Negative attitudes toward women	2.9	1.4	3.3	1.49	-3.28	.00
Lack of self-confidence	3.4	1.3	3.0	1.47	3.04	.00
Sex discrimination in promotional practices	2.6	1.4	3.0	1.65	-2.83	.00
Preferential hiring practices (Nepotism)	2.6	1.4	2.9	1.54	-2.02	.04
Lack of communication about opportunities	2.3	1.3	2.8	1.41	-3.65	.00
Lack of appropriate educational qualifications	2.4	1.5	2.7	1.55	-2.22	.03
Late receipt of information about a position	2.0	1.2	2.5	1.40	-4.25	.00

females perceived to have greater influence on the participation of women in educational administration than did males. The t-tests for independent samples of marital status, on

the other hand, indicated no significant differences between married and single on their perception of barriers to advancement of women.

Respondents' Attitudes Toward Women as Administrators

Using a five-point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5), respondents indicated their attitudes toward women as administrators. Items with a high mean of 5 (4.5-5.0) indicated a positive attitude while those with a mean of 4 (3.5-4.4) revealed a moderate view of women. Those items with a mean of 3 (2.5-3.4) indicated uncertainty on the part of the respondent, while items scoring below 2.5 showed a negative attitude toward women as administrators.

Table 4.15 reports overall attitudes toward women administrators by mean score and standard deviation, from high to low mean. Items on the attitude scale were designed to assess the attitudes teachers and administrators held about women as educational administrators. The scale comprised statements covering many different and opposing points of view related to women as administrators, and respondents could find themselves agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about some.

The mean (M) scores indicate that respondents were very favorably disposed toward women as educational administrators. They strongly agreed (M=4.5 and above) with 8 of the 36 items (25%) and agreed (3.5-4.4) with another 24 items (66.7%). They were undecided (2.5-3.4) only on 4 items, and they did not disagree on any items. The standard deviation (SD) measures variability of response and can serve as an indicator of the degree of consensus among respondents. The strongest consensus among the respondents was on the most positive attitudes; the standard deviations of 7 of 8 items on which respondents strongly agreed were below 1.0, indicating a high level of consensus. Conversely, respondents had a very low consensus on the 4 items with a deviation score of 1.50 or greater.

Table 4.15

Mean Distribution of Attitudes Toward Advancement of Women in Administration

	Item	M	SD
9	Society should regard work by women as valuable	4.7	.78
4	Equal opportunity for participation in training	4.7	.82
8	Someday women shall be accepted in key positions	4.6	.83
10	Acceptable for women to compete with men for positions	4.6	.97
26	Women should hold positions of authority.	4.6	1.02
27	Women do (not) understand what is going on.	4.5	.99
5	Women have the capability to acquire the necessary skills	4.5	.98
35	Women should (not) keep their ideas in the home	4.5	1.02
23	Females have the capabilities for responsiblc managerial roles	4.3	1.04
22	Women administrators understand what their subordinates do	4.3	1.18
13	Menstruation should not make women less desirable employees	4.3	1.23
11	Pregnancy does not make women less desirable employees	4.0	1.29
14	A woman does not have to sacrifice her femininity.	4.0	1.39
19	Women possess the self-confidence	3.9	1.29
20	Women are (not) competitive enough	3.9	1.39
1	(Less) desirable for women to have responsibility	3.9	1.39
24	A women can('t) be trusted to give proper credit	3.9	1.44
33	Women make good administrators.	3.8	1.19
6	Women (not) less capable of contributing to goals	3.8	1.47
7	(Not) acceptable for women to assume leadership roles	3.8	1.47
32	Women are (not) always on the "backs" of males	3.7	1.40
31	Women (don't) become administrators by using their bodies.	3.7	1.42

Table continues

Table 4.15 (Continued)

	Item	M	SD
28	Women (don't) become administrators by using sexual favors.	3.7	1.43
25	Women (not) ignorant in highly technical subjects.	3.7	1.43
3	Challenging work is (not) more important to men than women	3.7	1.62
18	Women can(not) be assertive in work	3.6	1.35
17	Women (not) ambitious enough	3.6	1.44
16	Women (less) capable of learning math and mechanical skills	3.6	1.53
2	Women have the objectivity required to evaluate properly	3.5	1.33
21	Women can(not) be aggressive in work	3.5	1.41
36	Women (don't) get involved in the petty detail of the job	3.5	1.47
34	Man (not) better suited for handling administration	3.5	1.57
29	(Not) more injustice in the way women take advantage	3.4	1.24
15	A better mother is (not) one who stays at home	3.4	1.35
12	Women would no more allow their emotions to influence	3.3	1.35
30	Male subordinates (don't) feel inferior because of female superiors	3.2	1.47

Note. Descriptive statistics were generated after recoding all negative statements to reflect a positive attitude. ( ) represents words that were added to and (_) for those that were deleted to make statements positive. The higher the mean, the more positive the view toward women as administrators.

The two most positive attitudes (4.7) were those where respondents maintained that "Society should regard work by female educational administrators as valuable as work by male administrators" and "Men and women should be given equal opportunity to participate in educational administration training programs." Other very positive attitudes suggest that there was hope that women would someday hold key managerial positions, compete with men for administrative positions, and hold positions of authority.

Respondents very strongly affirmed women in their understanding and skills and welcomed their full participation in educational administration.

Respondents were somewhat ambivalent, though still more positive than negative (above 3.0), on such matters as women taking advantage of work done by male subordinates (29), mothers staying at home with children (15), the influence of emotions on women in administration (12) and the feelings of inferiority of men when their superiors are female. There were no items on which the mean was below 2.5; as a group respondents were not negative on any items in this attitude scale.

Factor analysis was computed on the 36 items in the attitude scale to identify major components among the items. The correlation matrix (see Appendix H) revealed that the interrelationships among variables were greater or equal to .30 in absolute value for over half of the coefficients. According to Norusis (1992) this indicates that most of the variables were related to each other, suggesting that these variables are likely to share a common factor. The criteria for factor extraction was set at 7 which was believed to be adequate to represent the data. The varimax method of rotation was used to minimize the number of variables that had high loadings on a factor and to enhance interpretability of the factors. An oblique rotation method was used to identify those factors that correlated with each other. The oblique rotation resulted in small correlations among all seven factors with the highest of .42 for Factors 2 and 1, and -.41 for Factors 7 and 1. However, the oblique rotation resulted in the same grouping of variables as did the varimax method of rotation. Table 4.16 shows a rotated factor matrix converging in 10 iterations.

The seven factors that were extracted had a total variance of 52.0%, with Factor 1 accounting for 27.6% of the variance. Factor 1, labelled <u>negative attitudes toward women administrators</u> constituted seven items all relating to the respondents' feelings about women administrators. Item 31, "Women become top administrators by using their bodies," had the highest loading of .81 followed by "Women become top

Table 4.16

Rotated Factor Structure Matrix of Attitudes Toward Women

		Factors						
	Factors/Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Negative attitudes toward women administrators							
31	Women use their bodies	**.81**	.12	.09	.12	.06	.16	.04
28	Women use sexual favors	**.80**	.11	.15	.06	.10	.19	.05
29	Women take advantage of the work	**.69**	.12	.08	.09	.07	.15	.01
32	Women always on "backs" of their males	**.66**	.14	.09	.30	.12	.06	.17
36	Women get involved in petty detail of job	**.61**	.22	.24	.34	.04	.02	.07
24	Women can't be trusted to give proper credit	**.56**	.16	.30	.02	.19	.31	.00
34	Man better suited for administration	**.46**	.27	.27	.45	.12	.04	.12
	Competence of women administrators							
5	Women have the capability	.15	**.69**	.05	.15	-.01	.04	.03
8	Women shall be accepted in management	.02	**.66**	-.00	.11	.22	.24	.03
23	Females have the capabilities	.10	**.65**	.12	.31	.11	.12	-.08
9	Society should regard work by female	.02	**.58**	.04	.11	.10	.24	.20
33	Women make good administrators	.41	**.57**	.21	.07	.15	.00	-.13
19	Women possess the self-confidence	.27	**.57**	.33	-.08	.22	.03	-.11
4	Equal opportunity for participation training	.21	**.50**	.01	.19	.21	.35	-.02
2	Women have the objectivity	.33	**.46**	.07	-.14	-.05	-.19	.17
	Motivational factors							
17	Women are not ambitious enough	.13	.07	**.66**	.33	.02	.10	-.03
20	Women are not competitive enough	.17	.07	**.64**	.24	.05	.12	-.07
21	Women cannot be aggressive	.11	.04	**.60**	-.05	.12	.10	.17
6	On the average, women are less capable	.25	.21	**.44**	.26	.11	.02	.25

Table continues

Table 4.16 (Continued)

	Factors/items	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Sex-role stereotyping							
35	Women should keep their ideas in the home	.19	.21	-.12	**.54**	.11	.39	.15
3	Challenging work is more important to men	.20	.24	.20	**.53**	.12	.04	.05
15	A woman who stays at home better mother	.09	.06	.16	**.52**	.21	-.02	.07
16	Women less capable in math & mechanical	.13	.07	.25	**.48**	.03	.29	.14
18	Women cannot be assertive	.18	.13	.45	**.47**	-.01	.10	.03
	Sexual aberrations							
11	Pregnancy not make women less desirable	.07	.18	.21	.03	**.67**	.09	.04
13	Menstruation not make less desirable	.01	.10	-.06	.16	**.63**	.08	-.17
14	A woman not have to sacrifice femininity	.07	.07	.09	.11	**.60**	-.10	.10
12	Emotions not influence women's behavior	.29	.27	.14	.09	**.47**	-.23	-.21
10	Acceptable for women to compete	.07	.33	.01	-.15	**.46**	.36	.35
1	Less desirable for women be administration	.18	.02	-.04	.19	**.40**	.22	.05
	Personality of women administrators							
27	Women do not understand	.29	.17	.26	.14	.00	**.68**	-.05
26	Women should not hold positions	.27	.27	.18	.13	.04	**.65**	.01
	Impact of women on male subordinates							
30	Males feel inferior when their superiors	-.13	-.03	-.06	-.10	.05	.04	**-.78**
	Omitted items							
25	Women are ignorant of highly technical subjects	.39	.14	.35	.24	.10	.35	.00
22	Women don't understand their subordinates	.28	.32	.34	.10	.07	.36	-.08
7	Not acceptable for women to assume leadership	.06	-.08	.33	.27	.26	.19	.27
	Percent of variance	27.6	6.0	4.5	4.1	3.7	3.2	2.9

Note. Factor analysis was computed after recoding all the variables so that high scores indicated a positive view of women.

administrators by using sexual favors" with a .80 loading. These items might reflect the attitudes and perceptions some people have about the advancement of some women to top positions. These attitudes reflect the belief that some women use unorthodox ways to get to the top of the administrative ladder, suggesting that there is some element of corruption within the system of promotion to top positions. Some people, especially some males in positions of authority, may abuse their power or be exploited by some women who seek to advance to higher positions. While this may lead to unfair treatment or victimization of those who may not play the game; it may also result in the promotion of those who do not deserve it or qualify for the post.

However, the mean scores indicated positive views regarding the ascension of women to higher positions thereby revealing no indications of negative attitudes toward women as administrators. Most respondents, in this case, strongly disagreed with the two statements (31 and 28) resulting in means of 3.7 for each of the variables. The high means for the rest of the variables indicate that there was probably no resentment of women as administrators because the respondents strongly disagreed with all the negative statements about women administrators.

Factor 2, the competence of women administrators, describes the respondents' perception of women's aptitude in educational administration, contributing 6.0% of the variance. Eight items comprising positive statements about women administrators grouped under this factor. Factor 2, unlike other factors, presents a positive view of women as administrators. Women in this case were viewed as having the capability to be educational administrators. They were also perceived as equally capable and effective as men and, therefore, they should be given equal opportunity in training programs for educational administration.

Four items comprised Factor 3, labelled motivational factors. This factor accounted for 4.5% of the variance and presents some of the traditional, conservative beliefs about motivation of women. These include the belief that women lack ambition

in management and that they are not competitive enough in the world of work. Ambition, competitiveness, aggressiveness, and contribution to the overall goals of the organization are behaviors that determine the success of an individual in management or place of work. Since the items were recoded for high score to indicate a positive view these statements, therefore, revealed that women were regarded positively with regards to the qualities that determine success in administration.

Factor 4 is sex-role stereotyping, accounting for 4.5% of the variance. This factor presents some of the beliefs about women's role and capacity to participate in certain activities or do computational and mechanical subjects. This factor also presents a belief that men are suitable for decision-making positions while women are mainly responsible for children and should, therefore, stay at home. It also suggests that important decisions are of no interest to women and that women's ideas belong to the domestic domain. It is those women who stayed at "home all the time with their children" who are better mothers. The means for the items in Factor 4 were relatively high, ranging from 3.4 to 4.5, suggesting the opposite of these negative statements. In this study women were not viewed stereotypically.

Factor 5, labelled sexual aberrations accounted for 3.7% of the variance. The items in Factor 5 present a way of thinking contrary to traditional beliefs about the effects of pregnancy, menstruation, and emotional control on women's behavior and roles in occupational activities. The results of the factor analysis revealed that these factors were perceived as having no effect on women's behavior at work.

Factor 6 is personality of women administrators. This factor describes women's traits that are perceived to have a negative impact on their performance. Women were characterized as lacking leadership skills such as understanding their subordinates and therefore "should not hold positions of authority." As shown by the results of the factor analysis women were perceived as capable of understanding their subordinates and, therefore, should hold positions of authority.

The impact of women on male subordinates is Factor 7, accounting for only 2.9% of the variance. This factor presents the respondents' belief about women's influence on male subordinates. Item 30 was negatively related to Factor 7 with a high loading of -.78.

Effect of Demographic Characteristics on Attitudes Toward Women as Administrators

Table 4.17 shows the mean differences among age and each attitude variable

Table 4.17

Mean Differences Between Age and Attitudes Variables

		Mean scores							Scheffe'
	Item	1	2	3	4	5	F	p	pairs
2	Women have the objectivity	3.1	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.59	.01	2>1
5	Women have the capability	4.2	4.7	4.5	4.6	4.4	2.44	.05	-
6	Women are less capable	3.3	3.7	3.9	3.9	3.7	3.07	.02	4>1
12	Emotions won't influence women	2.9	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.4	2.42	.05	-
18	Women not assertive in work	3.3	4.0	3.9	4.1	4.0	6.31	.00	All>1
22	Women don't understand	4.0	4.5	4.3	4.4	4.0	2.49	.04	
23	Females have capabilities for admin.	3.9	4.5	4.3	4.5	4.3	4.65	.00	2,4>1
24	A woman can't to give credit	3.4	4.0	4.0	4.1	3.9	4.23	.00	3,4>1
25	Women ignorant in technical	3.3	3.7	3.9	3.9	3.6	3.26	.01	4>1
27	Women do not understand	4.3	4.7	4.6	4.6	4.3	3.64	.01	2>1
28	Women use sexual favors	3.3	3.7	3.8	4.0	3.6	3.91	.00	4>1
31	Women use their bodies	3.3	3.7	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.17	.01	3>1
32	Women always on "backs" of males	3.3	3.7	3.8	3.8	3.9	3.33	.01	5>1
33	Women make good administrators	3.3	3.9	3.9	4.0	3.9	5.58	.00	All>1
36	Women involved in petty detail	2.9	3.6	3.6	3.7	3.4	5.30	.00	2,3,4 >1

Note. Age 1 = Under 30, 2 = 30-34, 3 = 35-39, 4 = 40-49, 5 = 50 or older.

together with pairs that significantly differed for each variable. Generally, most older participants differed significantly with those under the age of 30. More specifically, older

respondents showed more positive attitudes than those who were younger on all variables where statistically significant differences among respondent groups were identified.

Table 4.18 indicates that highest academic qualification accounted for statistically significant mean differences on 13 of 36 items in the attitude scale. University degree holders displayed more positive attitudes than did those with a only primary school

Table 4.18

Mean Differences Between Highest Academic Qualification and Attitudes Variables

		Mean scores						Scheffe'
	Item	1	2	3	4	F	p	pairs
5	Women have the capability	4.3	4.5	4.7	4.3	5.26	.00	3>1
6	Women are less capable	3.6	3.5	4.0	3.7	2.93	.03	-
9	Society should regard work by female	4.5	4.7	4.9	4.7	5.86	.00	3>1
16	Women less capable in math	3.4	3.7	3.8	4.0	2.67	.05	-
20	Women not competitive enough	4.1	3.8	3.7	3.8	3.19	.02	1>3
22	Women don't understand subordinates	4.1	4.2	4.5	4.6	3.68	.01	3>1
24	A women can't be trusted to give credit	3.7	3.7	4.1	4.0	3.63	.01	3>1
25	Women ignorant in technical subjects.	3.6	3.5	4.0	3.7	3.80	.01	3>2,1
29	Women take advantage	3.2	3.4	3.6	3.2	2.92	.03	3>1
31	Women use their bodies to advance	3.5	3.8	3.9	4.0	3.00	.03	-
32	Women always on the "backs" of males	3.5	3.7	4.0	3.9	3.78	.01	3>1
35	Women should keep their ideas in home	4.4	4.6	4.7	4.6	2.81	.04	-
36	Women get involved in the petty detail	3.2	3.4	3.8	3.3	4.10	.01	3>1

Note. *Highest academic qualification 1 = Primary school certificate, 2 = Diploma in education, 3 = Degree, 4 = Other.*

certificate on 8 of the 13 items. Item 20, "Women are not competitive enough to be successful in the world of work" was the only variable that showed that those with primary school certificate had more positive views than did university degree holders. For variable 25, "Women administrators are ignorant when it comes to highly technical subjects" university degree holders showed more positive attitudes toward women than did both diploma in education and primary school certificate groups.

Table 4.19 reveals that total educational experience accounted for statistically significant differences on 12 of 36 items. Most respondents who had more experience had more positive attitudes than those with fewer years of experience. Respondents with less total educational experience felt more strongly, however, than those with more experience that "Women are not ambitous enough to be successful in management."

Table 4.19

Mean Differences Between Total Education Experience and Attitudes Variables

		Mean scores							Scheffe'
	Item	1	2	3	4	5	F	p	pairs
5	Women have the capability	4.2	4.3	4.6	4.6	4.4	2.81	.03	-
10	Acceptable for women to compete	4.5	4.3	4.6	4.5	4.7	2.57	.04	-
11	Pregnancy not make women less	3.8	3.7	4.2	4.0	4.1	3.00	.02	3>2
17	Women are not ambitious enough	4.2	3.4	3.7	3.4	3.8	3.32	.01	1>5
19	Women possess self-confidence	3.2	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.1	3.85	.00	5,3>1
22	Women don't understand	4.0	4.1	4.5	4.2	4.2	3.08	.01	-
23	Females have the capabilities	3.7	4.2	4.4	4.5	4.3	5.90	.00	5,3,4>1
24	A women can't give credit	3.5	3.4	3.9	4.2	4.1	4.85	.00	4>2
25	Women ignorant in technical	3.3	3.4	3.9	3.8	3.6	2.39	.05	-
32	Women always on "backs" of males	3.6	3.3	3.8	3.8	4.0	2.54	.04	-
33	Women make good administrators.	3.3	3.5	3.8	4.0	4.0	4.00	.00	5>1
36	Women get involved in petty detail	3.2	3.0	3.6	3.7	3.5	3.63	.01	-

Note. Total education experience 1 = Under 4, 2 = 4-7, 3 = 8-15, 4 = 16-23, 5 = 24 or more.

Differences in professional status accounted for statistically significant differences on 8 of 36 attitude scale items (see Table 4.20). Education officers agreed more strongly than did teachers that men were better suited for handling administrative responsibility than were women. Although this was the only item for which the Scheffe' procedure identified significant pairs, an inspection of the mean scores indicates that education officers scored higher than did other respondent groups on all 8 items.

Table 4.20

Mean Differences Between Professional Status and Attitudes Variables

		Mean scores							Scheffe'
	Item	1	2	3	4	5	F	p	pairs
6	Women are less capable	4.4	3.7	3.7	3.5	4.0	2.69	.03	-
19	Women possess self-confidence	3.8	3.8	4.1	3.7	3.6	2.39	.05	-
24	A women can't give credit	4.3	4.0	4.0	3.6	3.4	3.70	.01	-
28	Women use sexual favors.	4.1	3.8	3.7	3.4	4.0	2.70	.03	-
31	Women use their bodies.	4.1	3.8	3.8	3.4	4.0	3.28	.01	-
32	Women always on "backs" of males	4.2	3.8	3.8	3.4	3.8	2.53	.04	-
34	Man better suited for administration	4.2	3.4	3.6	3.2	3.7	3.39	.01	1>4
36	Women get involved in petty detail	3.9	3.5	3.6	3.1	3.5	2.50	.04	-

Note. *Professional status 1=Education officer, 2=Head of school, 3=Administrative assistants, 4=Teacher, 5=Head of department.*

Suggestions for Improving the Participation of Women in Educational Administration

The last question on the survey was an open-ended question soliciting responses on how participation of women in educational administration could be improved. The following discussion presents a summary of the suggestions.

Open-ended responses to suggestions for improving the participation of women in educational administration generated three categories that focused on changing: (1) women's personality/behavior to suit administration, (2) the current organizational structure to accommodate women, and (3) socialization process and attitudes of society toward women's leadership.

Change the current organizational structure. Suggestions to change the organizational structure and practices within which women worked formed the largest category of responses regarding the improvement of the participation of women in educational administration. Most respondents supported the view that there should be equal opportunities for both men and women in educational administration. Others

called for the provision of personal and professional support to women who want to advance by providing incentives and support systems for them. The latter was linked with the proposal that there should be improvement of conditions of service for women. Preferential treatment of women also featured prominently in the list of suggestions for improving the participation of women in educational administration.

Some suggestions pointed to the need to re-examine the selection process for higher positions in education, emphasizing that selection should be based on merit not gender. Other suggestions proposed that more women should be included in the selection process for promotion to higher positions of authority. The need for the involvement of policy-makers in addressing gender inequality and inequity in educational administration was noted as an important element in improving the situation of women in administration. This suggestion indicated that governmental involvement in initiating the process of improving women's participation would be a good recipe for change. Most of the suggestions under this category focused on the need to change the organizational practices and structures to accommodate women.

Change women's personality/behavior to suit organizational practices. The second main category of suggestions for improving participation in educational administration focused on changing women's behavior to suit organizational practices. This group of responses comprised 40.4% of the total suggestions for improving women's participation in educational administration. A majority of responses under this classification were related to training opportunities. Respondents suggested that there was a need to provide professional training of women in administration. In addition, women were seen as lacking motivation to participate, hence the suggestion that "women should be motivate ' to participate in educational administration." Empowerment of women was proposed by a number of respondents. Others felt that women should be assertive and also become emotionally stable if they were to succeed in acquiring positions in educational administration.

Changing the socialization process and attitudes of society. There were two main suggestions regarding changing the socialization process and attitudes of society toward women. These included the provision of awareness about gender issues at school, workplace and home with a view to creating positive attitudes of society toward women as leaders or in certain occupational roles.

Interview Data

This section presents a general discussion of the interview data. The purpose of the semi-structured interviews was to get responses to questions on the seven variables related to some of the issues that were not included in the questionnaire. A random sample of thirty respondents was drawn from those who participated in the survey and all agreed to participate in the interview.

Demographic Characteristics of Interviewees

Table 4.21 shows a frequency distribution of the demographic characteristics of interviewees. Only two more males participated in the interviews than did females. The respondents were fairly evenly distributed by age. Marital status indicated an equal number of those who were married and single, and interviewees were either teachers and administrators.

1. What are Your Attitudes Toward Women in Educational Administration?

During interviews respondents were asked to indicate their attitudes toward women administrators. Generally, both male and female respondents expressed a positive view of women administrators. Most of them described women administrators as capable, arguing that performance in any occupational role depended upon one's personality rather than gender. "Normally both men and women succeed in administration because of the support and cooperation of colleagues, especially subordinates," claimed one young female teacher.

Women perceived as better administrators. Twelve respondents expressed a feeling that women were better administrators than men. For example, one male respondent argued that there were women who were capable of running a school even much better than men:

Table 4.21

Demographic Characteristics of the Interviewees (N=30)

Characteristics	n
Gender	
Female	14
Male	16
Age	
Under 30	8
30-34	6
35-39	9
40+	7
Marital status	
Single	15
Married	15
Professional status	
Teacher	16
Administrator	14

> Generally, schools administered by women have good or better results than those under the authority of men because women do not have time for "smiles," especially from other women. Men, on the contrary, usually listen to flimsy excuses from women and get easily manipulated by women and as a result work suffers. Women cannot be manipulated by other women.

Some examples where women were perceived to be excelling included their propensity to assist their subordinates in carrying out their duties. One male deputy head

of a school admitted that "After working with my current headmistress for some time I have developed a positive attitude towards women as leaders," pointing out that "women do their job more efficiently than men." "No men," he added, "would come to observe and assist you when you are teaching." According to one female respondent:

> Women tend to contribute more than men in administration. I have observed that most women actually work twice as much because to a woman it is like a challenge to be in an administrative position. A woman has to prove herself while a man does not have to.

Characterization of women's personality. While both male and female respondents felt that men and women have equal ability in administration it was females who tended to be more negative toward women administrators than were males. Surprisingly, the feeling that women were jealous of their female juniors who outpaced them economically, socially, or in physical appearance came from both male and female respondents. For example, one female respondent expressed her preference for men in administration:

> Because women are petty. Women are also easily threatened by other women who are climbing the administrative ladder. They would rather remain alone to represent other women than allow others to compete with them. Women tend to suppress other women.

In his comment one male respondent endorsed that:

> Women are capable administrators but do not have good temperament. They should not be left all by themselves to run a school because they are petty (Ga go batlegi e le bone hela--ba rata ditshele). Women are jealous of each other, especially if the junior/subordinate is more attractive.

From the interview data one could conclude that teachers and administrators have mixed feelings about women as administrators. This was reflected in their differences in perceptions and attitudes toward women. While most respondents expressed positive attitudes toward women's ability and aptitude in educational administration, there were negative feelings toward personality of women leaders. These feelings were found in the statements used to describe these women leaders.

2. What Barriers to Advancement of Women in Educational Administration Exist in Botswana?

Interview data also revealed that respondents perceived barriers in terms of three major factors: personal, organizational, and societal. These data were consistent with results of factor analysis on barriers to advancement. Under these three main factors, respondents noted eight barriers to the advancement of women. These included prejudice against women, lack of social structures for women, lack of support for women, lack of self-confidence, family responsibility, social pressure, gender role expectation, and traditional cultural norms.

Lack of self-confidence. While a number of barriers were identified by respondents during the interviews, lack of self-confidence among women was seen as a major impediment to their advancement in educational administration. Phrases such as "lack of self-confidence," "fear of failure," and "inferiority complex" featured most prominently in the list of barriers identified by respondents during the interviews. Most females perceived lack of self-confidence as a major factor in influencing women's participation in administrative roles. There were many explanations regarding lack of confidence among women. Some respondents attributed it to a lack of training of women in educational administration while others attributed it to the "negative attitudes" of men. For example, statements such as "this petticoat administration" had a negative effect on women's confidence.

Others cited comments such as "some of the Community Junior Secondary Schools (CJSS) have so much indiscipline [sic] because they are run by women." Uncertainty among women was also seen as a contributing factor to their lack of participation in educational administration. For example, one respondent stated that "there is always uncertainty among women." She further pointed out that women sometimes wonder, "What do people think of me as a woman in this position? Will I

manage?" Another female respondent argued that women "are not sure about what they are doing--either a woman is echoing her brother/ husband/father--it is usually not something she feels deep down in her heart." She also stated that:

> Attitudes of spouses are the main barrier. For most men it is difficult to accept that their wives could do better than they. If a woman tends to be hardworking and progresses in her job, the husband would fight hard to drag her down. Again men would not mind working under the supervision of a woman as long as she is not his wife. That is why we can only change the attitude of a woman after changing that of a man. We should start by changing the attitudes of men before attempting to deal with the problem of low participation of women in certain careers.

This perception of male egocentricism was also expressed when one male respondent pointed out that men "want to be seen as men." He also claimed that men feel inferior when they are led by a woman.

According to one female respondent, lack of self-confidence among women develops right from school going age when girls develop the feeling that:

> "I cannot do it because I'm a woman." This attitude is a major problem for the advancement of women. The other problem is that we live in a "genderized" society where even subject selection at school is according to gender. For example, home economics is for girls while boys would be encouraged to take agriculture, design and technology, and the sciences. Even when girls grow up they do not have an opportunity in administration because most leadership positions in the school are occupied by boys. At home some mothers usually say to their children "wait until your father comes." All these send messages about roles, that the father is the one to make decisions in the family.

Similar sentiments were expressed by another woman when she suggested that:

> Students should be free to select subjects related to their career choice or interest instead of being forced to take courses that teachers or schools feel are suitable for them. The current practice where the school discourages boys from taking home economics, for example, or girls from offering design and technology has implications for the future of these students.

While the school was viewed as having a significant influence on the girls' lack of self-confidence, some respondents blamed it all on women. For example, one female respondent indicated that:

> Women bear the most blame for gender disparity both in the workplace and leadership because right from the home they treat girls and boys differently--certain tasks and decisions are assigned to boys. Even when a boy in the family is younger than a girl they consult a boy when making a decision for the family when the father is not around. Women are actually more to blame for this problem than men.

As girls grow up they know very well where they belong. Both at home and school they see that men are responsible for the day-to-day running of the family or school and people look up to men for administrative roles and decisions.

Lack of support from other family members. Some respondents perceived lack of support by males as a barrier to advancement of women in certain careers. According to one respondent most of the time male partners, especially husbands, do not give support to their spouses who are trying to advance to higher positions. Due to this lack of support "women choose between commitment to their work or interest and losing a relationship." This lack of support from the male spouses has been emphasized by those who viewed family responsibility as a barrier to women's advancement. A significant number of them felt that men do not help in the family and, therefore, a woman would be overburdened if she takes any responsibility that would require her to spend most of her time out of the home.

Family responsibility. Family responsibility, according to some respondents, plays a significant role in deterring women from participation in educational administration because women seem to have most of the responsibility for children. "When a child is sick it is the mother who has to take care of the child," remarked one female education officer. As pointed out by most female respondents, most employers discriminate against women, "claiming that during the maternity leave work suffers." Also within the context of the role of the woman in the family, some respondents have argued that childbearing disrupts women's progression in their careers, recounting that:

> During the 9 months of pregnancy and the 3 months of maternity leave women are regarded by some employers as not "productive," hence their preference for men in certain occupational roles.

Due to childbearing "most women advance at a later stage of their life, that is why there are more older women than younger women in leadership positions, especially at primary schools and organizations," observed one young female respondent.

According to one male respondent there are several factors that militate against women's progression. He pointed out that biological factors, being a mother, and being somebody's wife constituted some of the "natural" barriers to the advancement of women. "These barriers," he argued, "are not created by men but they are just natural barriers." He strongly believed that:

> As a woman there is no way you can serve two masters, i.e., in an African context being a mother includes responsibility for the family. There is no way a woman can, in confidence, for example, leave children with their father and remain in the office expecting that all is well at home, i.e., children are fed, etc. She cannot leave children in the care of a trusted husband. That is practically impossible because there shall be no peace in her mind, and her input into the job would be affected. That is why absentmindedness occurs mostly with women than men because they are always thinking about children at home.

This was echoed by one female respondent when she noted that women are always anxious whenever they leave children alone at home. Her contention was that the pattern of life in Botswana forces women to avoid any work that might separate them from their families. While women have to work to support their families they are at the same time expected to take care of the family. "After work a woman goes home to take care of children while a man may decide to visit friends," remarked one woman. She viewed this as a vicious circle because society accepts all this behavior.

Stigmatization. Commenting on the different expectations in terms of family responsibilities one male respondent asserted that "most men in Botswana are 'night callers' because after work they visit friends, go to the bar to drink beer, or any place of their choice and come home very late at night, wake up early, go back to work." He

contended that such men have very little time with their families. "Any man who becomes committed to his family, coming home every time after work, sharing chores with the wife is said to have been 'bewitched' (O jele) --he is not normal," one female respondent alleged. Such stigmatization may influence the attitudes and behaviors of both men and women. For example, while men may try to avoid the stigmatization by acting in ways expected by society, women, on the other hand, may feel uncomfortable when the husband spends most of his time at home because she might be dubbed "o mo jesitse" (she has bewitched him). According to one male respondent, these social pressures exerted by society on men and women that maintain the status quo of male domination:

> Men do not want to accept women as partners in marriage, at work, in management, in politics--they want to continue to dominate in all spheres of life. Men want to continue to suppress women, hence women remain in subservient positions, dependent on men for everything.

Although marriage is no longer seen as a major goal by some respondents social pressure is viewed as a barrier to advancement of women. This pressure for most women stems from the fact that some:

> Men would not like to marry a woman who has more money or higher qualifications than they have, hence women lower their aspirations so as to get married. Even women themselves would not feel comfortable earning more money than their husband. A number of women are satisfied when they get married--marriage seems to be a very high goal for them.

Others have associated this problem with lack of ambition among women, arguing that women "always get contented once they have someone to take care of them, or when they have a car, have a house or family."

Lack of social structures for women. Contrary to the belief that the problem lies with either society or individuals, some respondents stressed that the lack of social structures for women was a disadvantage. For example, one woman observed that because of the lack of social structures women have:

> no opportunity to socialize--talk about politics, business--an opportunity that men have. Such an opportunity provides a forum for discussing issues, sharing ideas, learning from each other on a number of issues. Unfortunately, whenever women meet they discuss petty issues such as boyfriends, other women's attire; hence they are not exposed to most issues that are essential in life, especially at work.

Another disadvantage due to lack of social structures for women, as perceived by one male respondent, was that it "deprives women of the opportunity to socialize hence they tend to keep, for example, a grudge after a quarrel because they can't meet in social circles to talk about it or share ideas on how to handle such a problem." He observed that, "After work women go home to take care of the young ones."

Prejudice against women. Prejudice against women was also reported as a barrier to women's progress in educational administration. Linking family commitment to prejudice against women, one female respondent stated that:

> The system of promotion has an impact on the representation of women in educational administration because those responsible for transfers and postings have no consideration of the woman's role in the family. Women are therefore reluctant to apply for higher positions because they would not want to stay away from their families. Many women who are eligible for higher positions choose between risking moving to a remote area far way from their family and not applying for any position in administration. This is because according to Botswana laws, women are minors and therefore have to join their husbands when they are transferred but not vice versa.

According to one respondent when a post of responsibility is advertised women think of their family before applying for it. Women always fear that they might be posted to remote areas thus separating them from their families. Due to this commitment to the family most women are reluctant to apply for a position. Since the man is the head of the family, when he is transferred his spouse and children can move to his new place of work while such is not the case when it comes to a woman. One respondent pointed out that "a woman might have to decline taking a post of responsibility because she might be required to relocate leaving her family behind since the husband would not be transferred to join her." Other women considered health

factors before applying for a position in administration. One respondent indicated that "most women would prefer urban centers because of medical reasons," asserting that a number of women would say, "I have to go for medical checkup every month so I cannot work in a remote area."

Commenting on the selection process one respondent revealed that most women who apply for promotion, unfortunately, fail because of the biases of the questions asked during the interview:

> Women are sometimes disadvantaged during interviews whenever the interview panel [predominantly men] asks the question, "If you were to be posted to the Kgalagadi district or a remote area would you take the position?" In most cases women indicate that they would not take the position. This is because they would be required to relocate to a place that might not have facilities such as better schools for her children, hospitals for regular medical checkup, etc. Women usually do poorly on questions such as these whilst men wouldn't care which part of the country they are asked to go and serve.

While some respondents felt that the interview panel discriminated against women, there were those that believed that women's behavior at work or attitude toward work influenced the negative attitudes among interviewers or employers. According to one head of a school, the way some women, especially those who are married, conduct themselves leaves their seniors with no choice but not to recommend them for promotion:

> Most of them would go home whenever they are free or during extracurricular activities. In some cases they would not participate in extracurricular activities or would rush home because they are going to prepare a meal for their husband. Those who have the power to recommend, in this case administrators, who are mostly men, would be reluctant to recommend such people for promotion. Recommendations are based on how much time one puts to his/her work and how helpful they are in the classroom and other school activities. Take sports, for example, some women do not participate actively even though it is an essential component of education or school curricula. So we administrators tend to reward those who devote most of their time to the life of the school. But women tend to give more time to their families rather than school.

Traditional cultural norms. Some respondents believed that the traditional cultural norms of Botswana society influenced women's involvement in certain occupational roles. According to one male respondent, "Men in Botswana society are in the forefront" and "women still want men to provide for them." He saw "women's dependence on men due to low economic status as a cause for women's subserviency because they need support, food, protection, and direction." He also added that the "I-am-a-woman attitude" influences women's attitudes toward certain roles, hence they lag behind; and because Botswana climate is hot some women can't participate in certain activities, especially those that are strenuous.

Gender role expectations. Others have seen a conflict between traditional gender role expectations and the career roles of women to be responsible for women's reluctance to participate in certain occupational roles. As described by one male respondent:

> Batswana women have not come to grips with a lot of things--they still regard themselves as belonging to the kitchen. They do not regard themselves as partners with men, thus they still play the traditional role of a woman. For example, they would have to leave the classroom to cook for the husband. This shows that at the end of the day she becomes the traditional African woman we all know of. Women might be aggressive at work, talk about women's rights, challenge men's views, but at the end of day they end up in the kitchen.

One female respondent recounted an incident where a man once said, "After all this talk about equal opportunity women end up in the kitchen." Apart from the conflicting roles, women, according to some respondents, are faced with other predicaments such as whether they should behave according to the dictates of society or face the consequences of deviation from the dominant society's expectations For example, some women are caught between becoming an "ideal woman" and "jeopardizing their chances of getting married," remarked one female

administrator. Because of this "they stoop low all the time, i.e., they play by the rule," she added.

Three respondents associated lack of communication of the various or available opportunities with the low participation of women in educational administration. "Most women are usually unaware of the available opportunities," one respondent observed. In sum, interview data indicate that people hold different views on factors that influence the participation of women in educational administration.

3. How have the Cultural Expectations of Women in Administration Changed in the Last Decade?

In their comments on how cultural expectations of women in administration had changed over the last ten years, respondents indicated two main indicators of change -- the increase in the number of women in administration and attitudes and perception of roles of women.

Demographic indicators. While most respondents admitted that there were changes in the cultural expectations of women in administration, there were those who observed that some people still strongly believed that women were not capable administrators. A number of respondents believed that the changes were likely to continue to pervade Botswana society. Asked how the changes have taken place, some respondents pointed to the increase in the number of women in educational administration, especially in the lower levels of school administration as clear indications of the cultural changes taking place within society. Conceding to the argument that there were changes in the cultural expectations, one head of school stated that in the past ten years it was unheard of that a woman could be a head of a secondary school. "Today," he added, "the number of women in secondary school administration is increasing and people accept them as capable administrators." Yet others attributed the changes in expectations to the influence of education, indicating that expectations differed according

to the level of education a person had. They claimed that educated people had more positive attitudes toward women as administrators than those who were less educated or uneducated. Contrary to this popular thinking was the belief that attitudes won't change "no matter how educated people can get."

Changes in attitudes and perception of roles. Others associated the changes in expectations of women with age of the person. Their view was that cultural changes were taking place mainly among the younger generation:

> The old people still uphold the traditional views about the various roles of men and women in society. For example, you would still hear old men, especially in the village saying, "How are the children doing?" In most cases the wife is included in the definition of children.

This definition and the view of the woman, especially the wife as a minor, is not only expressed by old people in the villages, it is reflected in the laws of the country. In the civil marriage, especially "marriage in community of property," the woman's status is reduced to that of a minor.

In his judgment of the changes that are taking place in Botswana society, one male respondent stated that:

> Although the cultural expectations are changing the change is not positive at all. It is merely westernization. The unfortunate thing about Botswana's society is that young people like nice time. Most people just crave for niceties--luxurious cars, T.V., good clothes, travelling to exotic places such as Suncity, Victoria falls, going around with beautiful women or well-to do men, etc. They adopt leisure as the norm.

Another male respondent saw changes in terms of the changing goals of women:

> Women used to value marriage. Marriage has always played a major role in suppressing women. Marriage made women dependents on men. After marriage women expected men to provide for them because they are women. That is why you would always hear women say, "because I am a woman." However, women are still suffering from this self-defeating attitude. They continue to believe that they are born to be led.

In her response to the question on the changing expectations one female respondent maintained that:

> In the past there was that tendency of being petty simply because that was expected of women. Women didn't mind even if you were to be in second position in class. Most girls would say, "after all they are boys." Statements such as "she worked like a man" are still common.

It is clear that while expectations have changed, some of the attitudes and beliefs about women's roles and capabilities in leadership still dominate thinking of many people. As observed by one respondent, "women continue to be highly dependent on men." "Most women," she argued, "still want to be accepted as the ideal woman who upholds the cultural values, customs and traditions of her society." The dilemma for a working woman is created by the fact that society expects certain behaviors from her as a woman while her work presents certain demands concerning how one should behave and act. The gender role expectations might conflict with the behaviors expected in a certain occupational role. According to one young female teacher:

> Basically where there is a woman administrator people go in with the idea that it is a woman and, therefore, expect her to behave like any other woman. They would, for example, expect her to be petty because that is what people believe about a woman. If she does not behave like a woman then something is wrong with her. She might be described in all sorts of demeaning ways.

Concomitant with these contradictions in people's expectations of a woman is the effect of these expectations on women themselves. Although this cannot be generalized to all women these expectations force them to either behave as they are expected or face the consequences of behaving in an "unacceptable way."

4. <u>What Do You Think are the Major Differences Between Male and Female Administrators?</u>

In their articulation of what they thought were differences between male and female administrators, most respondents focused mainly on personality differences

between men and women rather than their qualities as leaders. A majority of these respondents described women as lacking in self-confidence and emotional control and maintained that women suffered from an inferiority complex. The lack of self-confidence was associated with behaviors such as aggressiveness and hesitation in taking disciplinary action against subordinates.

Women lack self-confidence. One female administrator summarized the differences between men and women administrators as:

> Women lack confidence in themselves thus are never sure what decision to take, especially on disciplinary cases involving male subordinates. They feel uncertain about the decisions they make hence they refer most of the problems which require taking action against a subordinate to higher authorities or their bosses. They fear that by taking disciplinary action against their subordinates they won't be liked.

Another woman concluded that the "only difference between men and women administrators was that women were not firm and decisive hence they referred most administrative issues to higher authority." Her belief was that this was due to insecurity and inferiority complex.

Women are sensitive to criticism. Others indicated that the major differences between male and female administrators were that the latter were highly sensitive to criticism. Criticism, according to one female deputy head of school "challenges the woman's perception of herself as beautiful, perfect." This was also alluded to by a male respondent who said "women usually take any criticism as insubordination and would believe that you do not recognize their authority if you challenged their view." It was one male head of school who cautioned against sensitivity to criticism arguing that:

> Women tend to be petty. For example, they can't ignore some of the remarks made about them by their juniors. As an administrator you are likely to overhear a number of things said about you by your subordinates. Of course, some of the things said about you might be nasty accusations levelled against you. You should ignore them. If you react to the accusations, next you take

> action against such a person even though you might not be taking this action because of what they once said about you not because they did something wrong.

Women lack emotional control. Another focus was on women's personality; emphasis here was on what people thought were weaknesses of women as leaders. "Women are weak emotionally," said one female education officer, charging that "when their emotions are not stirred up or tempered with women are capable of holding positions of responsibility and do quite well." "Men," she continued, "are stable emotionally, hence they have time to think about problems before responding." Still on the issue of emotional control one woman observed that:

> It is a known fact that women hate other women. All this is due to petty jealousy simply because of the dress another woman is wearing, the car she drives, the shoes she puts on, her physical appearance, etc. It is like a competition. Men, on the other hand, have no time for petty issues. Men can face challenges from other men. For example, boys are allowed to fight; then become friends again. Yet girls tend to harbor their feelings because they are rewarded for being nice all the time. They are discouraged from being aggressive or forceful when solving problems.

The behaviors and expectations of boys and girls are reflected in their future lives and in their work environments when they are faced with situations that demand forcefulness or aggressiveness.

Women' behavior and disposition. Both male and female respondents perceived women in very similar ways in a number of cases. According to one male respondent, women are unnecessarily jealous of other women's success. He added that petty things may cause friction and serious clashes among women, especially if the junior seems to surpass the senior in social spheres. Because of jealousy, "women fail in their dispensation of their duties," one deputy head of school said. He strongly believed that unlike men, "women cannot differentiate between running of an institution or organization and a family; that is why they

would have favorites among the teaching staff, i.e., those teachers whom they call ngwanaka (my child)."

While respondents tended to focus on personality flaws of women in leadership, there were those who described women positively. Some of the positive descriptors included statements such as "women are honest," "kind," "not corrupt," and "accommodating." Men, on the other hand, were viewed as "bossy," "aggressive," "corrupt," and "do not listen to subordinates." It is these perceptions of behaviors of men and women that lead to differences in attitudes toward them. For example, the women's approach to a problem can be evaluated negatively by some people:

> Because of their motherly nature women believe that counseling is the key to running of a school. Yet the traditional belief about administrators is that of "rule-by-fear" or "wave the stick." Such kind of administration emphasizes corporal punishment as a form of molding behavior of the students. It is because women don't effect corporal punishment that they are sometimes regarded as failures in running a school. This failure to effect corporal punishment is associated with weakness, not that women favor counseling as a method of changing behavior. Most people do not appreciate that we differ in our approach to situations.

5. What Incentives Exist for Women to Apply for an Educational Administration Position?

Most respondents did not respond to this question because they were not aware of any incentives specifically for women to apply for an administration position. However, some respondents indicated that there were no incentives for women. Apart from offering encouragement to women to apply for administration, most administrators reported no other incentives for women. One female respondent argued that "a lot of women would be contented with what they already have because administration involves a lot of work with little benefits." "Most women," she professed, "would rather remain where they are than apply for

a higher post of responsibility where they are required to do lots of work." Apart from encouragement, most respondents thought it would not be appropriate to provide incentives for women as a group. One male respondent stated that "we cannot isolate women and provide incentives for them."

6. How effective are the existing strategies used by government or educational administrators to influence greater participation of women in educational administration?

Most respondents felt that the existing strategies were not effective enough to influence participation of women in educational administration. Encouragement was the main strategy used by most administrators to improve the participation of women in administration. This was, however, seen as ineffective because it did not address the fundamental issues affecting women's lack of participation in certain occupational roles. While government seemed to have recognized the need for women to participate in the economy and development, no specific strategies were in place for influencing greater participation of women in educational administration.

7. What else Could be Done to Improve the Participation of Women in Educational Administration?

Interview data on suggestions for improving women's participation in educational administration were summarized into four main categories. These suggestions encompassed the identification of the possible roles of government, women, school, and society/community in addressing the low participation of women in educational administration.

The role of government. Most respondents felt that government should play a key role in addressing gender inequality in educational administration. Emphasis was on government's role in determining and re-examining the selection and placement practices

for organizations responsible for the promotion of teachers to higher positions of authority. Merit, not gender, should be the determining factor when teachers are recommended or selected for higher positions of responsibility. Others proposed that government should make a deliberate move to include more women in policy-making, decision-making, and development structures of the economy. Some criticized the current practice of including only senior officers such as heads of departments to participate in the selection process for positions of authority, arguing that this excluded women since these departments are dominated by men.

Those who attributed the low participation of women to reluctance to apply due to family responsibility/commitment and policies for transfers suggested that government should consider this problem very seriously because it influences gender inequity in educational administration. Among this group were those that felt that candidates should be allowed to choose where they would like to be placed. This was not without consideration of the administrative problems that could result from "free-choice." One possible problem respondents identified was that some people use free-choice to avoid going to serve in remote areas. There were no suggestions as to how such problems could be avoided if free-choice were to be introduced. Others suggested that "acting appointments" during maternity leave should be introduced. However, they acknowledged that acting appointments would not solve the problem of low of participation of women in educational administration.

Those who believed that lack of self-confidence among women influenced their low participation indicated that government should provide more training and regular inservice for those in administration. This, they believed, would help, especially women administrators to cope with new demands in the education system. Concerning the content of training or inservice respondents suggested that emphasis should be on human relations or how to relate to colleagues, subordinates, students, and the community.

Skills such as budgeting or costing, evaluation, and professionalism were also considered important for the success of any administrators.

Encouragement and support for those women who want to advance to higher positions were seen as vital for women's progress. This also included incentives such as financial or fringe benefits for those who pursue careers in traditionally male-dominated fields such as science and technology.

Repealing or amendment of laws that relegated women to subservient positions was seen as an important step to raising the status of women in society. Laws such as the Marriage Act and those that deal with adoption were cited. To others gender awareness was the key in addressing gender inequity because it would also result in a dialogue between men and women. Seminars, conferences, radio programs such as Maokaneng and Roundtable were cited as possible instruments of change.

The role of the school. The school's role as a socializing agent was considered vital in influencing change in attitudes and perception of women's roles. To achieve this respondents observed that the current practice of subject selection contributed to the participation of men and women in certain careers. Some respondents objected to the current practice of assigning students to courses that were believed to be for either men or women. This practice, they argued, maintained the status quo of gender inequality in administration and certain occupational roles. Apart from allowing students to make their own choices for subjects the school should provide appropriate career orientation to assist the young to realize their interests, abilities or strengths and weaknesses in various fields.

The role of women. Women were seen as agents of change. Such a viewpoint implies that change should start with women themselves. Among respondents who held this view were those who believed that women needed to prove themselves and be informed in politics, administration, and leadership in general. Such a move would help them understand the politics of leadership and management. Women should also

maintain positions where they excell rather than leave them because they believe that they are not worth it. Commitment to a career was seen as an important ingredient for success.

There would be no change without addressing the attitudes of women themselves. As suggested by some respondents, women need to do away with the, "I-am-a-woman attitude," if they want to succeed. There were also those who believed that women should forgo their femininity behaviors if they intend to meet the demands of the profession.

The role of society. The current social structure of Botswana society was believed to inhibit participation of women in educational administration. To improve participation of women society should provide social structures where women can share ideas, experiences, learn from each other, and socialize. Men, especially spouses, need to be supportive of their wives when they seek to advance their careers. This support includes full participation in family responsibility. Provision of better communication skills through guidance would also help women to be assertive at work. A general change of attitudes would help people accept women as leaders in society.

Summary

This chapter presented the research findings for both the survey and interview data for this study. The chapter included a summary of the demographic characteristics of the respondents. The chi-square analysis helped provide a description of the relationship among the demographic variables both t tests and F tests were used to identify the effect of demographic variables on perceived barriers and attitudinal variables. Factor analyses were compiled to identify major components among the barriers and attitudes toward women in educational administration. Although the research findings regarding attitudes of teachers and administrators toward women

were positive, teachers and administrators preferred men as administrators. The chapter also included a discussion of interview data.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter provides an overview of the study: background and purpose, methodology, data analysis, and brief discussion of the major findings. It also presents conclusions that can be drawn from the research findings of the study. The latter part of the chapter offers suggestions for further research and policies on the participation of women in educational administration and development of Botswana.

Overview of the Study

Background and Purpose

This study was carried out within the context of a growing interest and awareness of the gender issues and/inequalities in educational administration in Botswana. Concomitant with this new consciousness is the growth in the number of women in education and the labor force. However, men still continue to dominate all higher levels of administration and decision-making in most organizations and education institutions.

Despite the growth in the number of women in both the corporate world and education, attitudes, perceptions, and the general stereotypes about the role of women in administration still remain largely unaffected, especially in societies where patriarchal gender relations determine the power relations and participation of men and women in occupational and social activities. The primary purpose of this study was to identify and examine teacher and administrator attitudes, perceptions of barriers and strategies toward the advancement of women in educational administration. More specifically, the following questions were addressed:

1. What are the attitudes of teachers and administrators toward women in educational administration?

2. What are the teachers' and administrators' perceived barriers and incentives for women's advancement in educational administration?

3. How effective are the strategies used for greater participation of women in educational administration?

4. What is the effect of personal and professional variables on the perceptions of attitudes, barriers, and strategies of women in educational administration?

Methodology

A nationwide survey as well as an interview schedule were used in collecting data. The survey comprised three main parts: Part A on personal and professional background, Part B on perceptions of barriers to advancement of women, and Part C, on attitude scale. Part C was developed by combining and modifying the Women as Managers Scale (WAMS) and 15 items selected from the Managerial Attitudes toward Women Executives Scale (MATWES). A random sample of 840 was surveyed and 504 or 60% returned usable questionnaires.

An interview schedule solicited information on the respondents' attitudes toward women in educational administration; perceived barriers to advancement of women; how the cultural expectations of women in administration have changed; major differences between male and female administrators; incentives for women to apply for educational administration; strategies to influence greater participation of women; and suggestions for improving participation of women in educational administration. Thirty respondents were selected to participate in the interviews.

Data Analyses

After coding and entering data into a computer, analyses were done using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS-X) at the University of Alberta. The analyses of survey data included descriptive statistics, chi-square analysis, factor analysis, and analysis of variance (the t and F tests of statistical significance).

The treatment of interview data involved content analysis, with each question treated separately.

The use of descriptive statistics helped describe the demographic characteristics, perceptions of women administrators' leadership ability, experiences in working with women administrators, intention to apply for administration, and training in administration. The t test was used for gender and marital status while the F test was used for the rest of the demographic variables in examining the effect of these variables on sample means. Parts B and C were also analyzed using factor analysis, while relationships among demographic variables was established through a chi-square procedure. This was done on age, marital status, and gender by the rest of the demographic variables.

Summary of the Research Findings

The following is a summary of the major research findings as they relate to survey and interview data.

Survey data

Demographic characteristics of respondents. Over half of the respondents were male with a large proportion (62.4%) being married. The ages predominantly represented ranged from under 30 years of age to 49 years, with very few over the age of 50. The highest academic qualification for most respondents was the primary school certificate. However, the data indicated a wide variation in the years of work experience of the respondents with a majority having more than 4 years of total education experience and the largest proportion between 8 and 15 years. Education officers formed the smallest proportion of respondents while administrative assistants were the largest group. A majority of respondents had less than 13 years in their current position with a large proportion having served for a period of 2 to 4 years.

Relationship among the demographic variables

Chi-square procedures showed a relationship between age and other demographic variables except for gender. The analysis revealed that most respondents who were between 40 and 49 years of age and 50 years or older had a primary school certificate as their highest academic qualification. Yet most of those below the age of 35 had a diploma in education as their highest academic qualification. Most degree holders were between 30 and 49 years. The demographic data also showed that most respondents under the age of 30 were single while a great majority of those above 35 years were married. Data on total education experience indicated that most respondents under 30 years had less than 4 years experience. A majority of those in their 40s had 16 to 23 years experience; those 50 years or older had more experience.

While most ordinary teachers were younger, a majority of education officers and heads of schools were much older. The large majority of administrative assistants were middle aged. The higher the professional status, the older the respondent. The age of the respondent also determined the number of years they spent in their current position. For instance, those who were younger spent less time in their current position than did those who were older. All education officers and heads of schools were above the age of 35 prior to their current position, yet ordinary teachers formed the largest group of those below 35 years. The administrative assistants were above 35 years prior to their current position.

A profile of married respondents indicated they were mostly males, primary school certificate and degree holders, above the age of 35, had more than 8 years education experience, were administrators, and had spent more than 5 years in their current positions. Yet a majority of those who were single were females, diploma

in education certificate holders, below the age of 35, predominantly ordinary teachers, and had fewer years in their current positions.

Of all the respondents surveyed, most males were married, were heads of schools and departments, and had spent between 4 and 5 years and 14 or more years in their current positions. Yet females dominated as education officers, administrative assistants, and teachers, had spent less than two years and between 5 and 13 years in their current positions, and none held education officer position prior to their current positions. Most males, on the other hand, were heads of schools, administrative assistants, and heads of departments prior to their current positions. The t-tests of independent samples showed more significant differences by male respondents than by females.

Experiences in working with a woman as administrator. Most respondents had worked with a woman as head of school or deputy head of school, but the majority had never worked with a woman as assistant head of a school or head of department/senior teacher (subjects).

Commenting on their experiences in working with a woman as administrator most respondents noted that they had a positive experience. A majority indicated that women were capable or had equal ability with men or even better than men in running a school. Perhaps women were perceived to be better than men because of their emphasis on instructional leadership while men concentrated on organizational matters (Conner & Sharp, 1992). Others maintained that women administrators were more cooperative and collaborative than men. This belief that women were more collaborative than men is consistent with the findings in the literature on women in administration (Shakeshaft, 1987; Conner & Sharp, 1992; Eagly, Karau, & Johnson, 1992; Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1992) where women administrators were found to be interacting more frequently

than men with teachers, students, parents, professional colleagues, and subordinates. As pointed out in the literature, the competitive model of leadership is not conducive for women's style of leadership, hence this negative criticism and preference for men whose approach to leadership suits this model.

Conversely, there were also those who felt that women administrators were more authoritarian than men. The interesting thing about this perception of women as authoritarian applies to women who strive to adopt the traditional top-down model of administration where decisions and orders all come from the most senior officer to the juniors without the latter's input. Yet men who behave in a similar manner are described as "tough," "in control" or "powerful" (Pounder, 1990).

Some respondents perceived women as kind, friendly, and forceful, yet others in this group observed that women lacked tact when handling administrative issues. There were those who resented working with women because they believed that the women they had worked with lacked emotional control, enthusiasm, and initiative. Others accused women of gossiping, being petty, jealousy, not being professional, and for spending most of the time attending to their physical attractiveness or beauty rather than at work. Despite some of the negative feelings respondents had toward women, a majority indicated that they had good experiences in working with a woman as administrator.

Perceptions of ability, gender preference, and intention to apply for an administrative position. Despite their belief that women were capable administrators, most respondents indicated their preference for men in administration. This suggests that gender preference in administration has little to do with ability as an administrator. A large number of respondents also indicated their intention to apply for an administrative position, suggesting that most of them had interest in administration. About two-thirds of the respondents had no

professional training in administration. Lack of professional training may result in lack of self-confidence and uncertainty.

Perceived barriers to advancement of women. Barriers to advancement of women could be classified into three main categories: organizational factors, personal motivational factors, and societal factors. Organizational practices and activities such as lack of communication about opportunities, late receipt of information, sex discrimination in promotional practices, lack of encouragement and organizational support, preferential treatment, and lack of role models were perceived as organizational factors that influenced the low participation of women in educational administration. Organizational structures were based on male culture that emphasized the qualities and behaviors of men. This resulted in women being left out when it came to selection recommendations because they were believed to be lacking the characteristics of an administrator.

The personal motivational factors such as lack of interest in administration, lack of self-confidence, time constraints, lack of appropriate credentials, and family commitments worked against women's progress in education. On the other hand, the belief that administration is for men, negative attitudes toward women, and gender role orientation were societal factors that contributed to the low participation of women in educational administration.

It appears that underlying all these barriers are the attitudes that have maintained the status quo of male domination. To change the problem of low participation of women one has to address these attitudes that nourish the behaviors and actions of men and women involved in certain social and occupational roles. As observed by Oskamp (1977) and Rajecki (1990), attitudes determine our response to given objects or situations, they comprise the beliefs and ideas, feelings and emotions, and our actions and tendencies toward an object

These attitudes can either be negative or positive, thus determining people's perceptions and evaluations of others.

Effect of demographic characteristics on perceptions of barriers to advancement of women. There were significant differences among perceptions of barriers and respondents' age, total education experience, and professional status, suggesting that these three demographic variables influenced perception of barriers to advancement of women. Barriers appeared to be less pressing for those at the age of 50 or older than for those between 35 and 39 years. Respondents who had 16 to 23 years of experience perceived barriers more strongly than did those with 24 or more years of education experience. Administrative assistants also perceived barriers more strongly than did heads of schools, perhaps because there were usually fewer opportunities for advancement to higher positions in education. Males perceived more barriers than did females. Marital status had no effect on the perception of barriers to advancement of women.

Attitudes toward women administrators. Generally, most respondents had a positive view toward women administrators. On all the seven factors identified through factor analysis on the 36 variables on the attitude scale (i.e., Part C of the survey) none showed unfavorable views about women as administrators. This was revealed by the high positive means on all variables. Respondents strongly disagreed with most, if not all, the negative statements about women. There were no indications of resentment of women as administrators, and women were viewed positively on issues relating to capability and effectiveness in administration. On qualities that led to success in administration and the workplace, women were also regarded positively. Among these qualities were competitiveness, aggressiveness, and contribution to the overall goals of the organization.

The data analysis on the attitude scale, designed by modifying the WAMS and the 15 items of the MATWES, indicated a relatively more positive view about

women's roles and their capacity to participate in occupational and social roles. Contrary to the traditional beliefs about the effects of pregnancy, menstruation, and emotional control on women's behaviors at work, there were more positive views about women's capacity to deal with these factors. The traditional beliefs about women's roles were discredited by a large majority of respondents.

Effect of demographic characteristics on attitudes toward women. An analysis of variance of respondents' attitudes toward women by demographic variables indicated significant differences by age, highest academic qualification, total education experience, and years in teaching. Respondents under the age of 30 differed significantly from those between 35 and 49 years. More specifically, middle aged respondents had more positive attitudes toward women administrators than did those who were under 30 years of age. Similarly, university degree holders seemed to express more positive feelings about women than did those with only a primary school certificate. Although attitudes toward women administrators were influenced by total years of experience and years in teaching, the Scheffe' test did not identify the pairs that differed significantly. Males had more positive attitudes toward women administrators than did females. No significant differences were found between marital status and attitudes toward women administrators. Similarly, experiences in work with a woman as administrator seemed to have no influence on respondents' attitudes.

Interview Data

1. What are your attitudes toward women in educational administration? Generally, both male and female respondents expressed positive views of women administrators. Schools run by women, however, were perceived to produce good or even better examination results than did those administered by men. Two factors were identified to be contribute to this. One pertained to women's

propensity to assist their subordinates more often than did men. The second reason was that women could not be easily manipulated, especially by female teachers.

While women were evaluated positively regarding administration, there were mixed feelings about their personality as administrators. Some respondents characterized women negatively, pointing out that they were petty, jealous of their subordinates who were either more prosperous or had a better social standing than they did, brought individual differences or clashes to the workplace, liked gossiping, and discussed personal issues of their subordinates with their friends. Yet, others believed that women were kind, friendly, cooperative, and collaborative. There were also those who found women to be more understanding and accommodating. Lack of self-confidence, inferiority complex, and fear of failure also featured prominently as descriptors of women's personality.

2. What barriers to advancement of women in educational administration exist in Botswana? Consistent with the findings from the survey data, interview data reflected three main categories of barriers to advancement of women--organizational, personal motivational, and societal factors. As indicated in the interview data, eight barriers were identified by respondents: prejudice against women, lack of social structures for women, lack of support by family members, lack of self-confidence, family commitment, social pressure, gender role orientation, and the traditional cultural norms.

Employers and selection committees were believed to be prejudiced against women due to a number of factors. Among these factors were employers' beliefs that work suffers when a woman goes on maternity leave, interviewers biased questions, and fear of separation with family because of relocation on appointment to a new position. Other respondents associated prejudice against women with

women's behavior at work, arguing that women were more committed to their social roles, especially family, than to work responsibilities.

Women were perceived as lacking in self-confidence. This lack of faith in themselves was attributed to an inferiority complex, fear of failure, negative attitudes of men, and lack of training in administration. Women's engagement in occupational roles increased their responsibilities, thereby creating strain for some women. This strain was noted by some respondents as resulting from lack of participation of other family members, especially the spouse, in family responsibilities. Most respondents argued that many women were reluctant to take administration because they would be required at certain occasions to stay longer hours at work, thereby neglecting their family.

Child-bearing was believed to deter, especially young women, hence the advancement of women at later stages in life. The large number of older women compared to younger women in administration of schools and organizations was attributed to this factor.

The social stigmatization of those who deviated from the traditional norm or those who did not conform to the expectations of the dominant society created social pressure for both men and women. For example, a man who took part in family chores was viewed as not "normal." Similarly, a wife whose husband spent most of the time at home was believed to have bewitched him. Viewed within the context of labeling theory, stigmatization forces people to conform to the expectations of the dominant society to avoid earning a social stigma. According to Spencer (1985) not all our roles are actively sought and cultivated. Some people are always:

> looking forward to a time when we may exchange it for some other, less stigmatized but equally profitable occupation. When we can't escape being assigned to deviant roles, we still try to avoid identifying with the role and claim that it does not express our real selves." (p. 211)

3. How have the cultural expectations of women in administration changed in the last decade? Most respondents indicated that cultural expectations of women in administration had changed over the last ten years. Although there were divergent views regarding the nature and significance of the changes, the increase in the number of women administrators and perceptions of roles of women were cited as indicators of the cultural changes that have taken place. A number of respondents maintained that the increase in the number of women, especially in lower levels of administration and secondary schools, were indicative of changes in attitudes toward women. Some respondents associated the changes in cultural expectations to the level of education of people, arguing that most educated people had more positive attitudes than those who were less educated or uneducated.

According to some respondents, the changes in cultural expectations reflected changes in attitudes and perceptions of roles of women in Botswana society. Older people were seen as more conservative than the young on their expectations of women in administration. Certain laws and traditional norms of Botswana society were perceived as barriers toward women's progression in certain occupational and social roles. Most interestingly were the views that the cultural changes were merely reflecting westernization rather than any positive change in the expectations of women in administration. According to this viewpoint most young men and women were adopting leisure as a norm.

There were arguments that most professional women faced various dilemmas with regards to their roles and expectations. While some found themselves grappling with the problem of meeting the demands of the profession and the traditional cultural expectations of society about women's roles, others faced the challenge of either remaining an "ideal setswana woman" or face the consequences of adopting "non-traditional setswana" roles and behaviors.

4. What do you think are major differences between male and female administrators? Men and women were perceived to be different in their approach to leadership and their personality or behaviors at work. A majority of respondents noted that women lacked self-confidence, hence they referred most of their decisions, especially those to do with disciplinary action against subordinates, to their seniors who in most cases were men. This perceived lack of self-confidence was attributed to an inferiority complex, lack of training, and general fear of failure by most women. Women were also perceived to be more sensitive to criticism than were men. This was viewed negatively by most respondents, arguing that criticism to most women was either a challenge to their belief that they were perfect or regarded as insubordination and failure to recognize their authority.

Others felt that women administrators were more likely to lack emotional control than were men. This lack of emotional control was associated with the way women were socialized. Others believed that, unlike men, women tended to fail to differentiate between social relations and professional responsibilities, hence they would bring personal differences to the work place. Similarly, they would be in regular conflict with those who seemed to outpace them socially or economically. This conflict would usually be manifested through jealousy. Yet others believed that women tended to have teachers who were their favorites more often than did men.

5. What incentives exist for women to apply for educational administration? Only a few respondents responded to this question. Most respondents could not answer because they were not aware of any incentives specifically for women. According to some respondents most women were reluctant to apply because of lack of incentives.

6. How effective are the existing strategies used by government or educational administrators to influence greater participation of women in educational administration? Most respondents felt that the existing strategies were not effective enough to influence participation of women in educational administration. Encouragement was the main strategy used by most administrators to improve the participation of women in administration.

7. What could be done to improve the participation of women in educational administration? Respondents' suggestions to improve the participation of women in educational administration focused on the roles played by various organizations and groups: government, school, women, and the community/ society. There was great emphasis on government's capacity to take a leading role in addressing gender inequality and inequity in education and the labor force. Some of the activities suggested were that government could determine and re-examine both the selection and placement practices of governmental and non-governmental organizations with a view to establishing a fairly "gender-neutral" selection process. Some respondents proposed that government should make a deliberate effort to include more women in policy-making, decision-making, and development structures of the economy. Others indicated that government should provide more training and inservice opportunities for those in administration. Repealing or amending laws that relegated women to subservient positions could contribute to raising the status of women in society.

There were those who suggested that the current practice of subject selection for students should be re-examined with a view to allowing students to choose subjects or courses that would help them participate in fields of their choice. Schools should provide appropriate career orientation that would assist the young to realize their interests, abilities and strengths.

Some respondents believed that women should prove themselves and be informed in politics, administration, and leadership. Society, on the other hand, should provide social structures where women could share ideas, experiences, learn from each other, and socialize. Men, especially spouses, should support their wives when they seek to advance their careers.

Conclusions

The following conclusions were derived from the research findings.

Sub-problem 1. What are the attitudes of teachers and administrators toward women in educational administration?

Generally, teachers and administrators displayed positive attitudes toward women as administrators. Yet despite positive experiences in working with women administrators and the favorable views about women in administration, teachers and administrators in Botswana still preferred men in positions of authority. This reflects the subtlety and complexity of gender inequity in most patriarchal settings. In this study teachers and administrators perceived women as equally capable with men or even better than men in producing better examination results compared to those schools administered by men. Perhaps women were not preferred because of factors other than perceived lack of administrative ability.

While women were perceived to be capable administrators, their personality as administrators was not viewed favorably. Administration in Botswana has always been dominated by men with their male values, behaviors and experiences. These behaviors and experiences constitute the norm for administration today. While most believed women were capable leaders, they were perceived to be lacking in behaviors that have been set as standards for administration. Probably the decisions of employers and those responsible for recommending and selecting particular administrators reflect attitudes toward a candidate's perceived ability to meet the demands of the "machonized" position.

Perhaps there is need to "demilitarize" educational administration and cater to the behaviors and expectations of leadership styles of both men and women. Educational administration requires a fusion of the behaviors that fit the collaborative approach and competitive model. While it may seem impossible to bring together these two models there is need for organizations/institutions to restructure and re-orient their organizational model to emphasize both instructional and organizational matters. To operate exclusively within either one of these two major models of educational administration may result in a serious problem as changes in education continue to take place. Current changes in education require the involvement of administrators, both as instructional and organizational leaders.

Since attitudes are learned negative or positive dispositions toward certain people or groups, society should undertake a serious re-examination of the influences these behaviors in social, political, cultural and educational institutions play in determining the participation of men and women in social and occupational roles.

Sub-problem 2. What are the teachers' and administrators' perceived barriers and incentives for women's advancement in educational administration?

In this study a multiplicity of factors that influenced the low participation of women in educational administration were identified by both teachers and administrators. The low participation of women in educational administration was not influenced by a single factor. In addition, the multiplicity of influences reflects the nature of the problem of gender and inequality in Botswana society. Three major factors which contributed at different levels to the problem were identified in this study: organizational, personal motivational, and societal factors.

Organizational factors included all the practices and activities of the organization in relation to the advancement of women. These practices and activities form the core of gender disparity in most traditionally male-dominated organizations and occupational roles. To eliminate these barriers administrators and advocates for

gender equality and equity should approach the problem from an organizational perspective. This would require re-examining current organizational structures and the attitudes of those responsible for the selection process in an attempt to deal with gender inequity or the propensity to select candidates on the basis of their gender rather then merit.

While both male and female teachers and administrators applied for educational administration positions, it seems there were personal motivational factors that influenced the low participation of women in educational administration. Teachers and administrators perceived women to be lacking in self-confidence, interest in administration, and time for administration due to family commitments. There is a need for employers to provide adequate training that would help dispel the beliefs and attitudes toward traditionally male-dominated administration and other occupational roles. In addition, there is a need for organizations and society in general to find ways of addressing the needs and problems faced by working women who have families. This may help identify ways of dealing with pressures of the family and the reluctance of women to apply for administrative positions that create more responsibility for them or engender fear of being separated from their family when they are transferred to a school where the position is available.

Societal influence was noted as a major factor in determining the participation of men and women in social and occupational roles. This has implications on the socialization process by the school and the home. Probably there is need to re-examine the way traditional norms affect young people in Botswana society.

Sub-problem 3. How effective are the strategies used for greater participation of women in educational administration?

Teachers and administrators were not aware of any strategies used to achieve greater improvement of women in educational administration. This lack of knowledge of the strategies may reflect either the lack of concern about gender issues or the

probable lack of any strategies developed by government to address this problem. Yet government seemed to have identified female participation both in education and development as a major component of the current national development plan. This poses a question about government's commitment to address the problem of low representation of women in decision-making and policy-making bodies in Botswana.

Sub-problem 4. What is the effect of personal and professional variables on the perceptions of attitudes, barriers and strategies of women in educational administration?

In this study younger teachers and administrators had less favorable attitudes toward women administrator. Perhaps younger teachers and administrators lacked exposure to women's capabilities in positions of leadership.

Those teachers and administrators who had higher academic qualifications had more positive attitudes toward women than those with lower qualifications. This might indicate the influence of education on the attitudes of teachers and administrators. More education may enhance teachers' and administrators' perceptions of women because of increased knowledge of gender issues in the current Botswana cultural epoch. Those who had more experience expressed more positive views toward women than those with less experience. More experience might mean more interaction with women.

Barriers appeared to be less pressing for those who were in their 50s or older than those in their middle ages, perhaps because the latter still aspired to higher positions. Perhaps those in their 50s or older were no longer interested in climbing the administrative ladder, but were beginning to focus on issues related to retirement. Those with 16 to 23 years' experience perceived barriers more strongly than did those with 24 years or more experience. A majority of those with 16 and 23 years' experience were in their middle age. The middle aged group perceived more barriers than those who were older.

Administrative assistants, i.e., deputy heads of schools, assistant heads of schools, and senior teachers perceived barriers more strongly than did heads of schools, perhaps because there were few opportunities for advancement to higher positions in education. Males perceived more barriers than did females.

Implications

The findings may have some significant implications for policy on organizational practice and may influence more research on the participation of men and women in other occupational roles.

Policy Implications

1. Government, through its structures and subsidiaries should play a leading role in developing strategies and activities that would influence the participation of women in educational administration. This may require the involvement of the Women's Affairs Unit and Women's organizations in identifying and designing strategies for greater improvement of participation of women in educational administration and other areas of the economy. Coupled with the involvement of government structures in addressing women's participation is the need to include more women in the decision-making, policy formulation, and selection process for those who qualify to be appointed to positions of authority. This may require a re-examination of current practice of only involving heads of departments or senior officers representing various departments of the Ministry of Education.

2. Women's Affairs Unit and other related organizations should organize gender awareness activities for policy-makers, administrators in education, heads of schools, curriculum developers, and all other Ministry of Education personnel responsible for influencing policy or recommending and selecting teachers to higher positions of authority. These awareness activities may include workshops,

conferences, seminars and other fora aimed at influencing the perceptions of roles and attitudes toward women as administrators.

3. The Ministry of Education should expand the Guidance and Counselling Unit of the Curriculum Development and Evaluation so as to cater to the career needs of students. The expansion of the Guidance and Counselling Unit may help schools with providing career information services and develop students' interests in various social and occupational roles.

4. The Ministry of Education needs to examine and probably change the current organizational structure of schools to cater to the different characteristics and behaviors of females and males. The restructuring of the school organization would require educational practitioners to emphasize both instructional and organizational matters. This may include re-examining the nature of administration and how this affects gender participation in educational administration. This would also require re-examining the current organizational structure and the attitudes of those responsible for the selection process in an attempt to deal with the low participation of women in educational administration.

5. Administrative vacancies could be advertised earlier and more openly, with an encouragement of both men and women to apply. Similarly, both hiring and promotional procedures could be reviewed to remove discriminatory practices. The legislature needs to identify those laws that discriminate or disadvantage certain groups in society, in this case women, with a view to repeal or amend them.

6. The Ministry of Education should work towards eliminating barriers to advancement of women in educational administration. This may require looking into organizational practices and activities, personal, and societal factors that influence participation of women in educational administration.

7. The Ministry of Education departments need to provide more regular training and inservice for all those in positions of authority to help them develop coping and human relations skills and confidence in their roles as leaders.

Education Practice

1. Education practitioners should identify and eliminate any inherent gender biases in the curriculum, career materials, and schools' practices and activities.

2. Curriculum development personnel should incorporate gender awareness activities in the curriculum for all levels of education. These activities may provide an opportunity for students to explore some of the factors that may affect their effective participation in certain social and occupational roles.

Socialization practice

1. Social organizations need to examine the very nature and fabric of Botswana society to analyze the values, beliefs, and behaviors that may influence the low participation of women in educational administration.

2. Socializing agents such as the church, the family, the school, cultural groups and clubs need to examine their practices with a view to identify those that influence the participation of women in their administrative structures.

3. Community agencies, including media, should involve both men and women should be involved in addressing gender issues and commitment to family responsibilities. Apart from stimulating a dialogue between men and women on matters related to family it may also generate a new awareness of the effect of contradictory gender expectations on individuals in society. It may also provide a fora for debating issues related to influences of gender participation in social and occupational roles.

Further Research

1. This study may act as a stimulus for more research and dialogue on gender issues or participation of women in development and certain occupational roles.

2. There is need for more research focusing on how the existing organizational structures of political, cultural, educational, and social organizations influence the low participation of women in leadership roles.

3. Further research on this topic could include a case study approach to generate more data on attitudes of teachers and administration toward women in educational administration.

4. Conducting research on the participation of women in other professional occupational groups may provide more information on whether attitudinal factors and perceptions of roles do influence selection and appointment of women to various leadership positions.

5. Research emphasizing the influence of attitudes on the domination of men may help generate new ways of socializing the young and addressing the role of family and education in influencing these attitudes.

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APPENDICES

CORRESPONDENCE

APPENDIX A

Office of the President
Private Bag 001
GABORONE

REF. NO: OP 46/1

15th December 1992.

TO: Mr. Dan Bhusumane,
Guidance and Counselling Unit,
P.O. Box 189,
GABORONE.

Dear Sir/~~Madam~~,

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH ACT
GRANT OF PERMIT UNDER SECTION 3

I refer to your letter dated 18/11/92 about application to do research.

In exercise of the powers vested in him by the Anthropological research act the Minister of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration has granted permission to Mr. Dan Bush Bhusumane to carry out research on the Teacher and Administrator Attitudes and Perceptions of Barriers to Advancement of Women in School Administration in Botswana

The research will be carried out for a period not exceeding three (3) months, with effect from 15/12/92 and will be carried out at parts of the country.

This permit is granted subjective to the condition that any papers written as a result of the research shall be deposited with Government Archivist, Director - National Library Service.

Yours faithfully,

D.L.D. Gopolang
for/PERMANENT SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT

c.c. All District Commissioners
Director, Library Service
Government Archivist
Director, N.I.R.

APPENDIX B

Letter of Transmittal

Depart. of Adult, Career & Technology Education
633 Education South
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada, T6G 2G5.
November 4, 1992.

_____

_____

_____

Dear colleague

For the past two years I have been on leave from the Guidance & Counselling Unit of the Department of Curriculum Development and Evaluation, Ministry of Education, to pursue a graduate degree in the Department of Adult, Career and Technology Education, University of Alberta, Canada. As a part of my program, I am studying the teacher and administrator perceptions of attitudes, barriers and strategies toward the advancement of women in educational administration in Botswana. I invite you to participate in this study.

Your name has been selected through a random sampling of teachers and administrators in Botswana and I sincerely request your cooperation in answering the enclosed survey. The survey should take no longer than 30 minutes to complete, and I assure you that all information will remain confidential and will be used for study purposes only. The data will be reported in summary form only and no personal information will be shared at any time. If you would like a summary of the findings mailed to you at the end of the study, please send me your name and address in a separate envelope.

A stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed so that you may return the completed survey as soon as possible. I realize that this is a very busy time of the year for all us, and I would be most appreciative if you would complete the survey and return it to me by January 15, 1993. Should you have any questions regarding any aspect of the study please feel free to contact me at this telephone number: 352990 - Guidance & Counselling Unit, P. O. Box 189, Gaborone.

Your participation will contribute to our understanding of the role of women in educational administration in Botswana. Thank you very much for your assistance in this project.

Yours sincerely

Dan-Bush Bhusumane.

APPENDIX C

Follow-Up Letter

Depart. of Adult, Career & Technology Education
633 Education South
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada, T6G 2G5.
January 12, 1993.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Dear colleague
This is a reminder that I have not yet received your survey return. I would very much like to have your response to the items before beginning the data analysis.

If you have already mailed the survey, please ignore this letter. Thank you for your interest in the study.
Yours sincerely

Dan Bush Bhusumane.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

APPENDIX D

Questionnaire

A Survey of Teacher and Administrator Perceptions of Attitudes, Strategies, and Barriers to Advancement of Women in Educational Administration in Botswana.

Part A. Personal and Professional Background

***Introduction statement**: This personal and professional background data will be used to compile a profile of teachers and educational administrators in Botswana education system and also to identify any differences based upon these variables among respondents.*

***Instructions**: Please circle the number of the most appropriate response or write a response in the space provided. Your responses will be confidential. Thank you.*

		Official use only
	Respondent's I. D.___	1 2 3 4
1. Personal Data		
A. Gender		5
1. Female	2. Male	
B. Age		6
1. under 25	6. 45 - 49	
2. 25 - 29	7. 50 - 54	
3. 30 - 34	8. 55 - 59	
4. 35 - 39	9. 60+	
5. 40 - 44		
C. Marital status		7
1. Single	4. Divorced	
2. Married	5. Separated	
3. Widowed		
II. Professional Background		8
A. Highest academic qualification		
1. Primary school teachers' certificate		
2. Diploma in education		
3. Bachelor's degree in education		
4. Bachelor's degree + Concurrent certificate		
5. Bachelor's degree + Postgraduate diploma		
6. Graduate degree (e.g. M.Ed. Ph.D.)		
7. Other (please specify_____)		

B. Years of teaching experience

1. under 4
2. 4 - 7
3. 8 - 15
4. 12 - 15
5. 16 - 19
6. 20+

9

C. Years of total educational experience (i.e., teaching experience + years in current position)

1. under 4
2. 4 - 7
3. 8 - 11
4. 16 - 23
5. 24 - 31
6. 32+

10

D. Current professional status/position in school

01. Education officer
02. Head of school
03. Deputy head of school
04. Assistant head of school
05. Head of department (please specify_____)
06. Senior teacher
07. Assistant teacher

11, 12

E. Number of years in current position

1. under 2
2. 2 - 4
3. 5 - 7
4. 8 - 10
5. 11 - 13
6. 14 - 16
7. 17 - 19
8. 20+

13

F. Professional status prior to current position

01. Education officer
02. Head of school
03. Deputy head of school
04. Assistant head of school
05. Head of department (please specify_____)
06. Senior teacher
07. Assistant teacher

14,15

III. Educational Administration Experience and Perceptions

A. Have you ever worked in a school with a woman as (please respond to a, b, c, & d separately):

a. Head of school 1. Yes 2. No

16

b. Deputy head of school 1. Yes 2. No

17

c. Assistant head of school 1. Yes 2. No | 18

d. Head of department 1. Yes 2. No | 19

B. If you have worked in a school with a woman administrator how would you compare her ability as an administrator with a man in a similar position? | 20

1. Lower ability 2. Equal ability 3. Higher ability

C. Indicate your personal preference for men or women in positions of educational authority | 21

1. Men 2. Women 3. Undecided

D. Do you think you might apply for any administrative position in the future? | 22

1. Yes 2. No 3. undecided

E. Have you had professional training in educational administration. | 23

1. Yes 2. No

Part B. Perceived Barriers to Administration

Instructions: *The following items are perceived as common barriers to advancement of women in administration. Please indicate your perception of the importance of each item in deterring the participation of women in educational administration. Indicate your response by circling the most appropriate number:*

1 = no importance (NI)
2 = slight importance (SI)
3 = moderate importance (MI)
4 = considerable importance (CI)
5 = high importance (HI)

Please respond to every item

						Official use only
1. Lack of interest in administration	1	2	3	4	5	24
2. Lack of self confidence	1	2	3	4	5	25

3. Lack of time in administration	1	2	3	4	5	26
4. Negative attitudes toward women administrators	1	2	3	4	5	27
5. Belief that administration is for men	1	2	3	4	5	28
6. Family responsibilities	1	2	3	4	5	29
7. Socialization or gender role orientation	1	2	3	4	5	30
8. Lack of appropriate educational qualifications	1	2	3	4	5	31
9. Preferential hiring practices (Nepotism)	1	2	3	4	5	32
10. Sex discrimination in promotional practices	1	2	3	4	5	33
11. Lack of communication about opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	34
12. Late receipt of information about a position	1	2	3	4	5	35
13. Lack of role models	1	2	3	4	5	36
14. Lack of encouragement/support	1	2	3	4	5	37

Part C. Attitude Scale

Instructions: *The following items are an attempt to assess the attitudes people have about women in educational administration. The best answer to each statement is your personal opinion. The statements cover many different and opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement; you can be sure that many people feel the same way you do. Indicate your response by circling the most appropriate number. Thank you.*

Rating scale:

1 = strongly disagree (SD)
2 = moderately disagree (MD)
3 = uncertain (U)
4 = moderately agree (MA)
5 = strongly agree (SA)

Please respond to every item						*Official use only*
1. It is less desirable for women than men to have a job that requires educational administration responsibility	1	2	3	4	5	38
2. Women have the objectivity required to evaluate educational situations properly	1	2	3	4	5	39
3. Challenging work is more important to men than it is to women	1	2	3	4	5	40
4. Men and women should be given equal opportunity for participation in educational administration training programs	1	2	3	4	5	41
5. Women have the capability to acquire the necessary skills to be successful education administrators	1	2	3	4	5	42
6. On the average women educational administrators are less capable of contributing to an organization's overall goals than are men	1	2	3	4	5	43
7. It is not acceptable for women to assume leadership roles as often as men	1	2	3	4	5	44
8. The education community should someday accept women in key managerial positions	1	2	3	4	5	45

9. Society should regard work by female educational administrators as valuable as work by male administrators	1	2	3	4	5	46
10. It is acceptable for women to compete with men for top administration positions	1	2	3	4	5	47
11. The possibility of pregnancy does not make women less desirable employees than men	1	2	3	4	5	48
12. Women would no more allow their emotions to influence their administrative behavior than would men	1	2	3	4	5	49
13. Problems associated with menstruation should not make women less desirable than men as employees.	1	2	3	4	5	50
14. To be a successful education administrator, a woman does not have to sacrifice some of her femininity.	1	2	3	4	5	51
15. On the average, a woman who stays at home all the time with her children is a better mother than a woman who works outside the home at least half time.	1	2	3	4	5	52
16. Women are less capable of learning mathematical and mechanical skills than are men.	1	2	3	4	5	53
17. Women are not ambitious enough to be successful in management.	1	2	3	4	5	54
18. Women cannot be assertive in work situations that demand it.	1	2	3	4	5	55
19. Women possess the self-confidence required of a good leader.	1	2	3	4	5	56

20. Women are not competitive enough to be successful in the world of work.	1	2	3	4	5	57
21. Women cannot be aggressive in work situations that demand it.	1	2	3	4	5	58
22. Women administrators don't understand what their subordinates are doing.	1	2	3	4	5	59
23. Females have the capabilities for responsible managerial positions.	1	2	3	4	5	60
24. A women can't be trusted to give proper credit for work done by her subordinates.	1	2	3	4	5	61
25. Women administrators are ignorant when it comes to highly technical subjects.	1	2	3	4	5	62
26. Women administrators should not hold positions of authority.	1	2	3	4	5	63
27. Women administrators do not understand what is going on.	1	2	3	4	5	64
28. Women become top administrators by using sexual favors.	1	2	3	4	5	65
29. There is more injustice in the way women take advantage of the work done by their male subordinates than there is in the alleged discrimination against women.	1	2	3	4	5	66
30. Male subordinates feel inferior when their superiors are females and these feelings may lead to poor performance by the male subordinates.	1	2	3	4	5	67
31. Women become top administrators by using their bodies.	1	2	3	4	5	68

32. Women administrators are always on the "backs" of their male subordinates.	1	2	3	4	5	69
33. Women make good educational administrators.	1	2	3	4	5	70
34. A man is better suited for handling administration responsibility than a woman is.	1	2	3	4	5	71
35. Women should keep their ideas in the home where they belong and leave the important decisions to the men.	1	2	3	4	5	72
36. Women administrators get involved in the petty detail of the job instead of important administrative functions of planning and organizing.	1	2	3	4	5	73

37. Comment on your experiences in working with a woman administrator._____ 74

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38. What suggestions do you have for improving the participation of women in educational administration?_____

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Thank you for your time and cooperation in completing this survey.

APPENDIX E

Interview Schedule

(Biographical data from the survey will be used).

1. What are your attitudes toward women in educational administration?

2. What barriers to advancement of women in educational administration exist in Botswana?

3. How have the cultural expectations of women in administration changed in the last decade?

4. What do you think are the major differences between male and female administrators?

5. What incentives exist for women to apply for an educational administration position?

6. How effective are the existing strategies used by government or educational administration to influence greater participation of women in educational administration?

7. What else could be done to improve the participation of women in educational administration?

MATERIALS

APPENDIX F

Codes Used for Data Analyses

Age

(1) Under 30
(2) 30-34
(3) 35-39
(4) 40-49
(5) 50+

Marital status

(1) Single
(2) Married

Note. Married = married, separated, divorced, and widowed. Apart from the small frequencies of the last three groups the new classification was based on the assumption that all separated, divorced, and widowed people were once married and therefore they would not be likely to differ much in their experiences.

Highest academic qualification

(1) Primary school certificate
(2) Diploma in education
(3) Degree
(4) Other

Note. Degrees = Bachelor's degree in education, Bachelor's degree + Concurrent certificate, Bachelor's degree + Postgraduate diploma, and Graduate degree (e.g. M.Ed., Ph.D.).

Years of total educational experience

(1) Under 4
(2) 4-7
(3) 8-15
(4) 12-15
(5) 16-19
(6) 24+

Current professional status

01. Education officer
02. Head of school
03. Administrative assistants
04. Assistant teacher
05. Senior teacher (subjects)

Note. Administrative assistants = deputy head of school, assistant head of school and senior teacher. Senior teacher (subjects) = head of department (please specify_____)

Years in current position

(1) Under 2
(2) 2-4
(3) 5-7
(4) 8-13
(5) 14+

Professional status prior to current position

01. Education officer
02. Head of school
03. Administrative assistants
04. Assistant teacher
05. Senior teacher (subjects)

Note. Administrative assistants = deputy head of school, assistant head of school and senior teacher. Senior teacher (subjects) = head of department (please specify_____)

APPENDIX G

Correlation Matrix of Barriers

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	1													
2	**.37**	1												
3	**.43**	.26	1											
4	.03	.13	.08	1										
5	.09	.20	.07	**.37**	1									
6	.12	.15	**.35**	.13	.18	1								
7	.20	**.31**	.20	.26	**.36**	**.35**	1							
8	.29	.24	.24	.16	.15	.22	.19	1						
9	.05	.12	.17	.23	.25	.15	.19	.21	1					
10	.01	-.05	.04	.27	.27	.08	.15	.07	**.50**	1				
11	.16	.02	.24	.08	.12	.15	.15	**.35**	**.30**	**.33**	1			
12	.24	.09	**.34**	.08	.11	.22	.16	**.34**	.23	.26	**.54**	1		
13	.25	.28	.28	.18	.20	.17	.25	.24	.20	.20	**.32**	**.36**	1	
14	.17	.17	.19	.18	.18	.17	.23	.21	.21	.29	**.39**	**.37**	**.42**	1

APPENDIX H

Correlation matrix of attitudes toward women

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1	1																					
2	.19	1																				
3	-.24	-.09	1																			
4	-.16	.23	-.29	1																		
5	.13	.23	-.24	**.35**	1																	
6	.17	-.12	**.30**	-.21	-.26	1																
7	-.14	.02	.13	.17	.00	.21	1															
8	-.13	.21	-.25	**.53**	**.39**	-20	-.09	1														
9	-.19	.12	.18	**.34**	**.36**	-.21	-.05	**.42**	1													
11	-.08	.12	-.13	.28	.08	-.19	-.14	.24	.18	1												
10	-.24	.11	-.09	**.35**	.07	-.18	-.13	**.40**	**.40**	**.36**	1											
12	-.20	.12	-.19	.21	.23	-.20	-.15	.23	.09	.19	.26	1										
13	-.20	.12	-.17	.20	.15	.27	-.06	.15	.10	.19	**.32**	.27	1									
14	-.14	.02	-.12	.16	.12	**.32**	-.10	.15	.15	.20	.29	.28	**.31**	1								
15	-.12	.08	.16	-.22	-.19	**.37**	.15	.14	-.07	-.10	-.19	-.20	-.11	-.13	1							
16	.16	-.05	**.30**	-.15	-.20	-.25	.15	-.19	-.18	-.18	-.08	-.07	-.11	-.13	.28	1						
17	.08	.00	.25	-.17	-.11	**.30**	.21	.12	-.22	-.06	-.19	-.17	-.06	-.08	.25	**.33**	1					
18	.17	-.04	.29	-.24	-.18	.23	.24	-.20	-.12	-.07	-.14	-.17	-.09	-.06	.25	**.35**	**.44**	1				
19	-.15	.09	-.26	**.37**	**.31**	-.25	-.08	**.37**	**.30**	.24	**.33**	**.35**	-.19	.12	-.24	-.08	-.25	-22	1			
20	.06	**.30**	.25	-.23	-.10	**.30**	.16	-.18	-.11	-.09	-.19	-.15	-.18	-.09	**.30**	.22	**.46**	**.33**	-.29	1		
21	.13	.05	.21	-.16	-.14	.23	.13	-.17	-.07	-.12	-.16	-.14	-.08	-.02	.14	.17	.27	**.30**	-.18	.29	1	
22	.19	.07	.25	**-.32**	**-.33**	.25	.13	-.23	-28	.23	-.16	-.19	.23	-.17	.20	.27	.26	.27	-.24	.29	.24	1
23	-.16	.16	**-.30**	**.39**	**.45**	-.24	-.14	**.46**	**.34**	.21	-.21	.25	-.18	.12	-.17	-.20	-.21	-.26	**.40**	.21	.07	**.37**
24	.21	-.18	**.33**	-.28	.18	**.32**	.17	-.19	-.19	-.27	-.14	-.25	-.13	.24	.14	.24	.24	.24	**-.33**	**.33**	.23	**.43**
25	.21	-.08	.27	-.25	-.25	**.37**	.17	-.20	-18	-.18	-.18	-.19	-.12	-.12	.14	**.34**	**.35**	.27	-.29	**.30**	.22	**.39**
26	.15	.19	.22	**-.44**	-.20	.23	.19	-.32	-.19	-.25	-.20	-.16	-.11	-.05	.23	.31	.25	.31	-.29	.27	.20	.35
27	.20	-.11	.25	**-.35**	-.19	.21	.19	-.20	-.22	-.20	-.13	-.07	-.09	-.07	.19	**.31**	**.32**	.27	-.25	**.30**	.19	**.42**
28	.19	-.20	.25	-.26	.19	.29	.16	-.21	-.19	-.23	-.02	-.21	-.16	-.14	.14	.26	**.33**	**.30**	**-.32**	**.35**	.21	**.36**
29	.19	-.16	.26	-.01	.19	**.32**	.09	-.21	-.18	-.19	-.14	-.21	.09	-.07	.21	.23	.25	**.30**	-.01	.26	.17	.28
30	.18	-11	.24	**-.30**	-.11	.16	.14	-.02	.04	-.11	-.09	-.01	.10	-.01	.14	.10	.04	.07	-.27	.09	.11	.08
31	.05	-.20	.12	**-.33**	.21	**.30**	.12	-.19	-.22	-.21	.13	-.21	.07	-.09	.08	.28	.27	**.31**	-.26	**.30**	.17	**.34**
32	.21	-.23	.26	**.38**	-.19	**-.30**	.22	-.17	**.31**	-.18	-.18	.25	.17	-.14	.20	.22	.22	**-.30**	**.47**	.23	.23	**.31**
33	.17	.28	**.33**	**-.32**	**.45**	.28	-.12	**.34**	**.37**	.26	-.25	**-.30**	-.12	.16	.25	-.18	-.26	-.22	**-.32**	**-.31**	-.18	**-.37**
34	-.21	.17	-.26	**.39**	-.26	**.42**	.18	-.21	-.27	.21	.22	-.28	-.07	-.19	-.17	.29	**.32**	**.41**	**.30**	**.35**	.17	**.31**
35	.23	.12	**.47**	**.30**	-.22	.22	.17	**-.31**	-.25	-.25	-.19	-.13	-.16	-.10	.27	**.31**	.17	.28	-.17	.20	.07	.20
36	.18	-.27	**.31**	**.32**	**-.31**	**.38**	.19	-.16	-.23	-.15	-.14	-.25	-.11	**-.30**	.24	.25	**.37**	**.35**	-.29	**.34**	.28	**.35**

Appendix H (Continued)

	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
23	1													
24	-.27	1												
25	-.28	.46	1											
26	-.28	.40	.39	1										
27	-.28	.44	.46	.59	1									
28	-.21	.50	.44	.35	.37	1								
29	-.19	.42	.37	.31	.32	.53	1							
30	-.06	.09	.10	.11	.09	.13	.13	1						
31	-.23	.46	.41	.31	.38	.83	.54	.13	1					
32	-.22	.43	.31	.28	.32	.54	.48	.19	.55	1				
33	.49	-.35	-.32	-.24	-.30	-.41	-.35	-.02	-.41	-.36	1			
34	-.30	.41	.42	.33	.34	.41	.38	.18	.43	.48	-.38	1		
35	-.29	.23	.29	.44	.37	.32	.24	.16	.33	.34	-.24	.35	1	
36	-.29	.43	.47	.28	.32	.56	.48	.18	.53	.52	-.42	.54	.37	1

APPENDIX I

Response categories on experiences in working with a woman as administrator

Perceived leadership ability of women

Women:

--have administrative ability and aptitude in administration

--have equal ability with men

--are hardworking in when they are in administration

--are thorough in their work

--lack budget skills

Personality attributes of women

Women:

--lack emotional control

--lack enthusiasm in administration

--lack faith in themselves

--have inferiority complex

--like gossiping

--are petty

--are fair/not fair

--lack tact when addressing administrative issues

--always jealous of their subordinates who are more successful than them

--sometimes more influential than men in certain circles

--are vain

--are corrupt/not corrupt

--lack professionalism

--not consistent when making decisions

--Lack initiative/have initiative

Perceived interactive style of women

Women:

--are kind and more friendly than men

--are assertive

--are forceful/not forceful

Perceived leadership styles of women

Women:

--more cooperative than men

--more collaborative than men

--are more authoritarian than men

--have a complimentary role in a school